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# LIBRARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*By America's Leading Authors : JOHN CLARK RID-  
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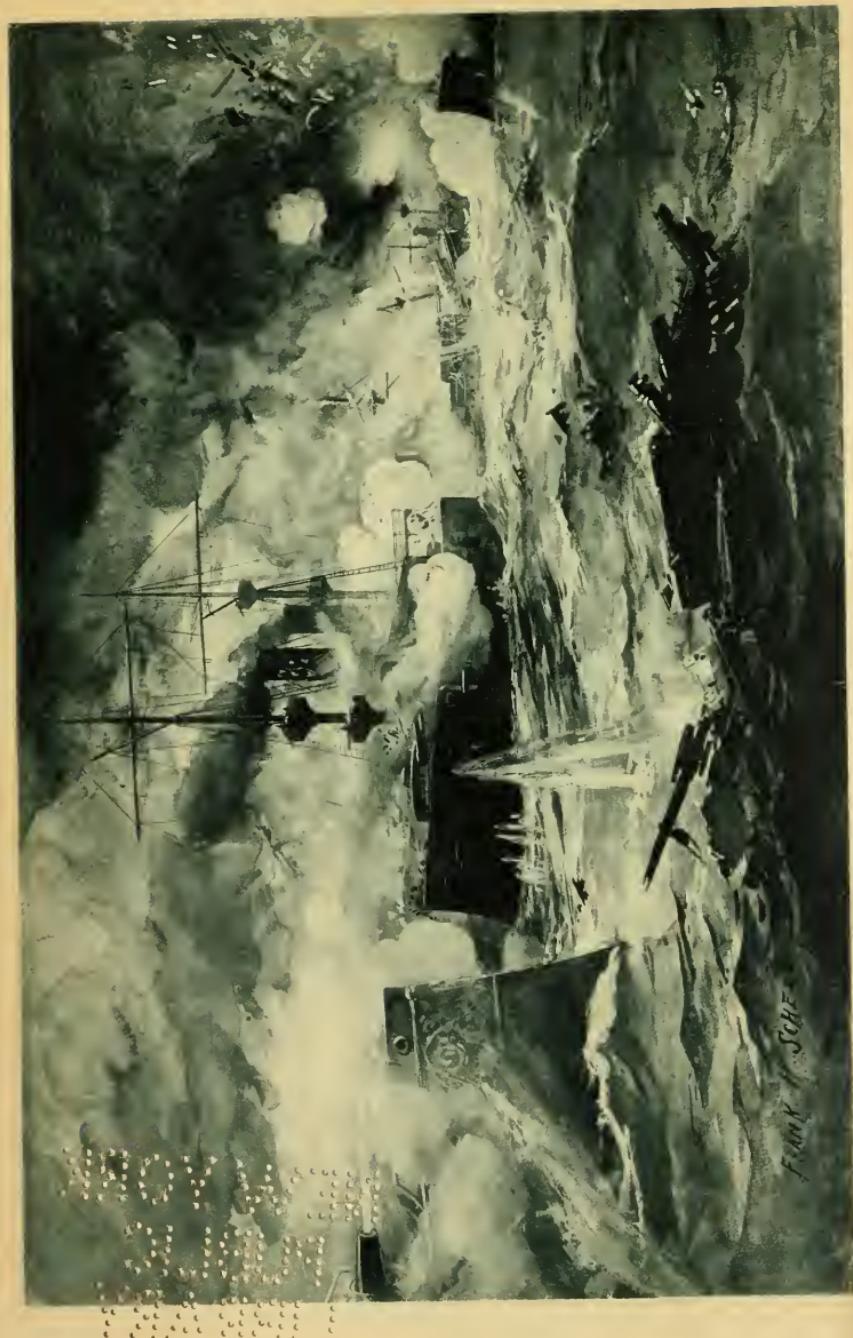
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED  
STATES

EPOCHS OF NATIONALITY, WAR,  
AND GREATNESS

BY

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D

Historian

AND

J. W. BUEL, Ph. D.

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# HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

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## BOOK SECOND.

### EPOCHS OF NATIONALITY, WAR AND GREATNESS.

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#### CHAPTER XXIII.

WE have now arrived at the beginnings of the most serious complications in which the United States was involved between the treaty of Ghent and the outbreak of the Civil War. The flux of Anglo-American civilization westward brought the vanguard of our American race at length to the borders of Mexico, and with that Hispanio-American power we were now to be involved in a brief but severe conflict for the possession of the imperial territories stretching from Missouri to the Pacific Ocean.

The agitation, upon an account of which we are here to enter, arose respecting the republic of Texas. That great State, if State it might be called, lying between Louisiana and Mexico had been from 1821 to 1836 a province of the latter republic. It had been the policy of Spain aforetime, while Mexico flourished and the United States grew apace, to keep Texas unpeopled; for by this policy it was possible to interpose an impassable barrier between the aggressive American race and the Mexican borders. This method of checking the expansion of the United States on the southwest was taken up by Mexico after the achievement of her independence in 1821, and Texas remained as before—an unpeopled empire.

At length, however, Moses Austin, of Connecticut, obtained a large land grant on condition that he should establish a colony of three hundred American families within

the limits of his Texan domain. This grant was confirmed to his son Stephen Austin, with the enlarged privilege of establishing five hundred families of immigrants. These charters were obtained from the government of Mexico, and between the years of 1820 and 1833 the American settlements in Texas had become so strong and well established as to furnish the nucleus of the Texan rebellion against the government of Mexico. That government had become oppressive, and held in its methods all the vices which have characterized the Spaniards and Spanish-Americans in the attempted establishment of free institutions.

Against such methods the Texans, already enjoying a sort of semi-independence, took up arms in the year 1835 and rallied in a general rebellion. War broke out between the parent State and the revolted province. Hereupon many adventurers and some heroes from the United States came hurrying to the scene of action and espoused the Texan cause. The first battle of the war was fought at Gonzales, and here a Mexican army numbering about a thousand was defeated by a Texan force of half the number. On the 6th of March, 1836, the old Texan fort of the Alamo de Bexar, near San Antonio, was surrounded by the Mexicans, eight thousand strong, under command of Santa Anna, President of Mexico. The garrison, though feeble in numbers, made a heroic defense, but was overpowered and massacred under circumstances of great atrocity. Here it was that the daring David Crockett, an ex-Congressman of Tennessee and a famous hunter of beasts and men, was killed. In the following month was fought the decisive battle of San Jacinto, in which the small American army, commanded by General Sam Houston, annihilated the host of Santa Anna and achieved the freedom of Texas at a blow. The independence of the new State was acknowledged by the United States, by Great Britain and by France, and Mexico was

obliged to yield. Texas became an independent republic and a government was organized on the model of that of the United States.

It soon appeared, however, that the movement for Texan independence had been inspired by the ulterior motive of gaining admission into the American Union. No sooner had the Texans gained their independence than they began to make petition for a place as a State in our republic. The first application of this kind was made during the administration of Van Buren; but the President, fearing a war with Mexico, declined to entertain the proposal. For four or five years the question lay dormant, but by no means dead. In the last year of Tyler's administration it sprang up more vital than ever. The population of Texas had by this time reached more than two hundred thousand souls. The Territory had an area of two hundred and thirty-seven square miles, more than five times as great as the State of Pennsylvania! It was like the annexation of an empire.

Immediately the question of annexing Texas to the American Union became political. It was indeed the great question on which the people divided in the presidential election of 1844. Nor will the thoughtful reader, nearing the close of the century, fail to discern in this old question of annexation the profound problem of slavery. Freedom in the free States had found a vent in the northwest, looking even beyond the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific; but slavery and the slave States seemed to be hampered on the southwest. Would not Texas open to the "peculiar institution" a field as broad and promising as that possessed by the Northern States? Could not the equipoise between the two parts of the Union be thus maintained?

In these questions and through them we may discover the bottom reason why the people of the South for the most part favored the annexation of Texas, and why the

proposition was received so coldly in the North. Again, the project was favored by the Democrats and opposed by the Whigs; so that here we have the beginning of that sectionalism in party politics which has not yet disappeared from the nation.

In the presidential contest of 1844 the two parties were nearly equally matched in strength. For this reason, and for the exciting nature of the issues involved, the contest surpassed in vehemence anything which had hitherto been known in American history. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was nominated as the Democratic candidate, while the Whigs chose their favorite leader Henry Clay. The former was elected. Though the fame of the latter and his idolatry by the Whig party were unabated, yet his hope of reaching the Presidency was forever eclipsed. As Vice-President George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was chosen.

An incident of another kind belonging to these days is worthy of special note. On the 29th of May, 1844, the news of the nomination of Polk was transmitted from Baltimore to Washington City by the magnetic telegraph. It was the first dispatch of such kind ever sent by man, and the event marks an era in the history of civilization. The inventor of the telegraph, which was destined to revolutionize the method of the rapid transmission of information and to introduce a new epoch in history, was Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, of Massachusetts. The magnetic principle on which the telegraph depends for its efficiency had been known to scientific men since 1774; but Professor Morse was the first to put the great discovery into the form of invention. He began his experiments in 1832, and wrought at the problem for five years before he obtained his first patent. He had in the meantime to contend with every species of prejudice and ignorance which the low grade of human intelligence could produce. After the issuance of the patent there was

a long delay, and it was not until the last days of the Congressional session in 1843 that the inventor succeeded in obtaining an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars. With that appropriation was constructed between Washington and Baltimore the first telegraphic line in the world. Perhaps no other single invention has exercised a wider or more beneficent influence on the welfare, progress and happiness of mankind.

The question of the annexation of Texas would not down. In December of 1844 a formal proposition for the addition of that republic to the Union was made in Congress. Debates followed at intervals during the winter, and on the 1st of March, 1845, the bill of annexation was passed. The President immediately gave his assent, and the Lone Star took its place in the American constellation. On the day before the inauguration of Polk, bills for the admission of Florida and Iowa were signed by Tyler; but the latter State, being the twenty-ninth in number, was not formally admitted until the following year.

James Knox Polk, sixteenth President of the United States, was a native of North Carolina, born November 2d, 1795. At the age of eleven he removed with his father to the new State of Tennessee. In 1818 he was graduated from the University of North Carolina. During his early manhood he was the *protégé* of Andrew Jackson. His first public office was a membership in the legislature of Tennessee. Afterwards he was elected to Congress, where he served as Speaker for fourteen years. In 1839 he was chosen governor of Tennessee, and from that position was called at the age of forty-nine to the presidential chair. At the head of the new cabinet as Secretary of State was placed James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. It was an office requiring high abilities, for the threatening question with Mexico came at once to a crisis.

As soon as the resolution for Texan annexation to the United States was adopted by Congress, Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Washington, demanded his passports and indignantly left the country. The Congressional resolution of annexation was formally approved by the legislature of Texas on the 4th of July, 1845 ; the union was an accomplished fact. But the Texan authorities knew well that Mexico would go to war rather than accept the extension of the American borders to her frontier line. A deputation was accordingly sent with all haste to the President of the United States requesting that an American army be at once dispatched to Texas for the protection of the State. In response to this petition General Zachary Taylor was ordered to march from Camp Jessup in western Louisiana to occupy Texas.

The real question between that State—now a member of the American Union and supported by the general government—on the one side and Mexico on the other was the question of boundaries. Perhaps the bare fact of annexation would have been borne by Mexico, for she had already assented nearly ten years previously to Texan independence ; but her assent to annexation was conditioned upon her right to dictate the boundary line between her own territories and those of Texas.

The issue here presented went back to the date of Mexican independence. In 1821 Mexico had thrown off the authority of Spain and instituted a government of her own. In doing so she had rearranged her provinces. She had united in one the two provinces of Coahuila and Texas. These were the frontier Mexican States east of the Rio Grande. Over this united province she had established a common government, and this government was maintained until it was broken by the Texan rebellion of 1836. Texas, being successful in her revolt against the parent State, naturally

claimed that her own independence so achieved *carried with it the independence of Coahuila*, and that therefore the territory of the latter province became by the revolution an integral part of the new Texan republic. These views were held also by the people of Coahuila. The joint legislature of that State and of Texas passed a statute in December of 1836 declaring the integrity of the two States under the common name of Texas. Mexico insisted, however, that Texas only and not Coahuila had revolted against her authority, and that the latter State was therefore still rightfully a part of the Mexican dominions.

It thus happened that the new State of Texas, now a member of the American Union, claimed the Rio Grande as her western limit, while Mexico was determined to have the River Nueces for the separating line. The large territory between the two provinces was in dispute. The government of the United States made a proposal to have the difficulty settled by negotiation, but Mexico scornfully refused. To her the question was clear and needed no arbitration. The refusal was construed by the Americans as a virtual confession that the Mexican government was in the wrong, and upon this conviction the claim of the Rio Grande was stoutly maintained by our government. General Taylor was instructed to advance his army as near to that river as circumstances would warrant and to hold his position against aggression. Under these orders the American forces were moved forward to Corpus Christi, at the mouth of the Nueces, where a camp was established, and there Taylor gathered an army of four thousand five hundred men. Such was the situation at the end of 1845.

With the opening of the next year a critical step was taken. Taylor was ordered forward to the Rio Grande. It was known that the Mexican government would not receive an American ambassador. It was also learned that a

Mexican army was gathering in the northern part of the republic for a counter-invasion of Texas, or at least for the occupation of the disputed territory.

General Taylor obeyed his orders. On the 8th of March, 1846, he advanced from Corpus Christi to Point Isabel on the Gulf of Mexico. There a depot of supplies was established and the march was continued to the Rio Grande. The American army reached that river at a point opposite the town of Matamoras and there erected a fortress named Fort Brown.

This invasion of what had once been the province of Coahuila was regarded by Mexico as an act of war. On the 26th of April General Arista arrived at Matamoras and took command of the Mexican forces. On the following day Taylor reached the other side of the river. Arista at once notified him that hostilities had begun. On the same day a company of American dragoons commanded by Captain Thornton was attacked by a body of Mexicans who had crossed the Rio Grande into the disputed territory. Here the war began. Sixteen of the American force were killed or wounded and the remainder were obliged to surrender.

On the right bank of the Rio Grande there was now great activity. A Mexican force crossed the river below the American position and threatened Taylor's communications. The American General deemed it expedient to retire to Point Isabel and strengthen his defenses. The fort opposite Matamoras, however, was left in charge of Major Brown with a garrison of three hundred men. The Mexicans witnessed the falling back of the American army with great jubilation. The *Republican Monitor*, a Mexican newspaper of Matamoras, published a flaming editorial declaring that the cowardly invaders of Mexico had fled like a gang of poltroons and were using every exertion to get out of the country. General Arista shared this delusion, be-

lieving that the Americans had fled away and that his only remaining duty was to cannonade and demolish Fort Brown ; this should end the war.

Taylor, however, had little thought of receding before the foe. Having strengthened his position at Point Isabel, he at once set out with his trains and an army of two thousand men to return to Fort Brown. The Mexicans, to the number of six thousand, had now crossed the Rio Grande and taken position at Palo Alto. This place lay directly in Taylor's way. At noon on the 8th of May the Americans came up and the first general battle of the war was begun. The engagement was severe, lasting five hours. The Mexicans near sunset were driven from the field with the loss of a hundred men. The American artillery inflicted the greater amount of damage. It could but be observed by Taylor that the fighting of the Mexicans was clumsy and ineffective. Only four Americans were killed and forty wounded ; but among the former was the gallant Major Ringgold, of the artillery.

The fight of Palo Alto was indecisive. The Mexicans fell back and General Taylor prosecuted his march. When the American army was within three miles of Fort Brown, the Mexicans were again encountered. They had rallied in full force and planted themselves at a place called Resaca de la Palma. Here an old river bed, dry and overgrown with cacti, lay across the road along which the Americans were making their way in the direction of Fort Brown. The Mexican artillery was planted to command the approach. At the first the Americans were galled ; but a charge was made by Captain May with his dragoons ; the Mexican batteries were captured and General La Vega taken at the guns. Hereupon the Mexicans flung away their accouterments and fled. Nor did they pause until they had put the Rio Grande between themselves and their pursuers.

After his battle and victory Taylor continued his march to Fort Brown. He found that that place had been constantly bombarded from Matamoras during his absence. A brave defense had been made and the garrison had held out, but Major Brown, the commandant, had fallen. Such were the first passes of the struggle.

The news of the things done on the Rio Grande carried wild excitement to all parts of the United States. The war spirit flamed out everywhere. Even party dissensions were for a while hushed and Whigs and Democrats alike rushed forward to fill the ranks. The President sent a message to Congress, in which he laid the blame of the conflict on the lawless soldiery of Mexico, alleging that they had shed the blood of American soldiers on American soil. Congress promptly responded, and on the 11th of May, 1846, declared that "war already existed by the act of the Mexican government." Ten millions of dollars were promptly placed at the disposal of the government and the President was authorized to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. In all the States war meetings were held, and in a short time about three hundred thousand men offered themselves for the service.

Only a small part of this number could be accepted. It remained, indeed, for the regular army of the United States to do most of the fighting in our war with Mexico. Trained officers were sent to the field of operations. General Scott was made commander-in-chief. The American forces were organized in three divisions: the Army of the West, under General Kearney, to cross the Rocky Mountains and conquer the northern Mexican provinces; the Army of the Center, under General Scott himself, to march from the gulf coast into the heart of the enemy's country, and the Army of Occupation, commanded by General Taylor, to subdue and hold the districts on the Rio Grande.

The duty of mustering in and organizing the volunteer forces was assigned to General Wool. By midsummer of 1846 that officer succeeded in dispatching to General Taylor a force of nine thousand men. He then established his headquarters and camp at San Antonio, Texas. From this vantage he sent forward the various divisions of recruits to the field. Meanwhile active operations were resumed on the Rio Grande. Ten days after the battle of Resaca de la Palma General Taylor crossed to the Mexican side and captured Matamoras. He then began to march up the right bank of the river and into the interior. By this time the Mexicans, having felt the impact of American mettle, grew wary of their antagonists. They fell back to the old town of Monterey, which they fortified and held against Taylor's advance. The latter was not able at this time to leave the Rio Grande on account of the smallness of his forces. He was obliged to remain inactive until August before his army was sufficiently augmented to justify further battle with the enemy.

By this time, however, his force was increased to six thousand men, and he at once set out against Monterey. Arriving at that place on the 19th of September, he immediately invested the town. Monterey was occupied by the Mexicans ten thousand strong under General Ampudia. But disparity of numbers had already come to be disregarded by the Americans. They began the siege of Monterey with great vigor, and on the 21st of September made an assault on the rear of the town. The heights on that side were carried by the forces under Worth. Here was situated the Bishop's Palace, a strong building commanding the entrance. But on the next day this place also was carried, and on the next Monterey was stormed by the divisions of General Quintman and Butler. The Americans charging through the streets gained the Grand Plaza, hoisted the Union flag,

and routed the enemy from the buildings in which they had taken refuge. The attacking parties were obliged to charge up dark stairways, explore unknown passages, traverse the flat roofs of houses and expose themselves to every hazard. But the enemy was driven to an ignominious surrender. Ampudia was granted the honors of war on condition that he vacate the city, which he did on the morrow. Taylor's victory kindled the enthusiasm and war spirit of the Americans to a higher pitch than ever.\*

News now reached General Taylor that negotiations for peace had been opened at the Mexican capital. Deceived by this intelligence, he agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, during which hostilities should cease, but the matter was a mere ruse on the part of the enemy for gaining time. It was at this juncture that the celebrated General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was called home from Havana, where he was living in exile. He was at once made President of the republic and commander-in-chief of the Mexican armies. Though the enemy still boasted, it was clear that alarm had taken the place of confidence. During the autumn of 1846 an army of twenty thousand Mexicans was raised and

\* A correspondent of the *Louisville Courier* wrote a touching incident of this battle. He says: "In the midst of the conflict a Mexican woman was busily engaged in carrying bread and water to the wounded men of both armies. I saw the ministering angel raise the head of a wounded man, give him water and food, and then bind up the ghastly wound with a handkerchief she took from her own head. After having exhausted her supplies, she went back to her house to get more bread and water for others. As she was returning on her mission of mercy, to comfort other wounded persons, I heard the report of a gun, and the poor innocent creature fell dead. I think it was an accidental shot that struck her. I would not be willing to believe otherwise. It made me sick at heart; and, turning from the scene, I involuntarily raised my eyes toward heaven, and thought, Great God! is this war? Passing the spot the next day, I saw her body still lying there, with the bread by her side, and the broken gourd, with a few drops of water in it—emblems of her errand. We buried her; and while we were digging her grave, cannon-balls flew around us like hail."

sent into the field. As soon as the armistice in the North expired Taylor assumed the offensive. General Worth moved southwest from Monterey a distance of seventy miles, and captured the town of Saltillo. Victoria, a city of Tamaulipas, was taken by the division of General Robert Patterson. To that place General Butler advanced from Monterey on a march against Tampico. That position, however, had in the meantime been taken by Captain Conner of the American navy. General Wool set forward in person from San Antonio, Texas, and came within supporting distance of Monterey. General Scott arrived at this juncture and assumed command-in-chief of the American army.

Meanwhile General Kearney at the head of the Army of the West had set out for the conquest of New Mexico and California. His march to Santa Fé was wearisome in the last degree, but by the 18th of August he reached and captured that city. New Mexico was taken by a *coup de main*. Having garrisoned Santa Fé, Kearney at the head of four hundred dragoons set out for California. After a progress of three hundred miles he was joined by the famous Kit Carson, who brought him intelligence that California had already been wrested from Mexican authority. Hereupon Kearney sent back the larger part of his forces, and with only a hundred troopers made his way to the Pacific.

Stirring events had in the meantime happened on that far coast. For four years Colonel John Charles Fremont had been engaged in explorations through and beyond the Rocky Mountains. He had hoisted the American flag on the highest peak of that mighty range, and then set out for the Great Salt Lake and afterwards for Oregon. From the latter territory he turned southward into California, where on his arrival he learned of the impending war with Mexico. Seizing the situation and assuming all responsibility, he incited the few American residents in California to revolt

against Mexico. First of all the frontiersmen of the Sacramento Valley gathered around his standard, and the campaign was organized for the subversion of Mexican authority. Several minor engagements were had with the Spanish-Mexican posts, but the Americans were uniformly successful, and the authority of Fremont was rapidly extended over the greater part of Upper and Central California.

While these events were happening in the North Commodore Sloat, of the American navy, was carrying forward a similar work in the South. Arriving off the coast of Monterey, about eighty miles south of San Francisco, he captured the place and raised the American flag. At the extreme southern part of the State Commodore Stockton captured San Diego and assumed command of the Pacific squadron. Fremont continued to press his campaign in the north and center, and, effecting a junction with Sloat and Stockton, advanced upon and took the city of Los Angeles. Thus, before the close of summer, 1846, California had been revolutionized and placed under the American flag.

General Kearney with his hundred dragoons reached the Pacific coast in November, and joined his forces with those of Fremont and Stockton. About a month later the Mexicans, having discovered the meagerness of the forces before whom they had fled and yielded, returned to the field, and the Americans were obliged to confront them in a decisive conflict. On the 8th of January, 1847, the battle of San Gabriel was fought, in which the Mexicans were completely defeated and the results of the American conquest of the previous year confirmed. Thus by a mere handful of courageous adventurers marching from place to place, with scarcely the form of authority and with their lives in their hands, was the great empire of California wrested from the Mexican government.

General Kearney on setting out for the Pacific coast had

left behind Colonel Doniphan in command of the American forces at Santa Fé. That officer fretted for a season, and then with a body of seven hundred men set out across the country from Santa Fé en route to Saltillo, a distance of more than eight hundred miles. On arriving at the Rio Grande he encountered the enemy at Bracito on Christmas Day, where he routed the Mexicans, and then crossing the river captured El Paso del Norte. Proceeding on his march, he found himself after two months within twenty miles of Chihuahua. Here, on the banks of Sacramento Creek, on the 28th of November, he met the Mexicans in great numbers, and inflicted upon them another disastrous defeat. He then captured Chihuahua, a city of forty thousand inhabitants! With but small losses Doniphan succeeded in reaching the division of General Wool in safety.

On his arrival in Mexico General Scott drew from the north down the Rio Grande a large part of the Army of Occupation. His object was the concentration under himself of a force sufficient for the conquest of the Mexican capital. By these movements General Taylor was weakened and left in an exposed condition. The Mexicans learned of the situation, and Santa Anna at the head of an army of twenty thousand men advanced on Taylor, whose entire forces did not number six thousand. Indeed, after garrisoning Saltillo and Monterey, the General's effective force numbered only four thousand eight hundred men. With this small and resolute army, however, he marched out boldly to meet the overwhelming foe and chose his battle-ground at Buena Vista, four miles south of Saltillo. Here he planted himself and awaited the onset.

The Mexican advance was from the direction of San Luis Potosi. On the 22d of February the enemy in great force came pouring through the gorges and over the hills. Santa Anna at once demanded a surrender, but was met with de-

fiance. A general battle began on the morning of the 23d. At first the enemy made an unsuccessful attempt to outflank the American position. Taylor's center was next attacked; but this movement was also repulsed. The Mexicans then threw their whole force on the American left, where the Indianians, acting under a mistaken order, gave way, and the army was for a while in peril. But the troops of Kentucky and Mississippi rallied to the breach, and the onset of the enemy was again repelled. The crisis of the battle was reached in the charge made by the Mexicans upon the American artillery under command of Captain Bragg; but the gunners stood at their batteries, and the Mexican lancers were scattered with volleys of grapeshot. A successful counter-charge was made by the American cavalry, in which the losses were severe. Against the tremendous odds the battle was fairly won. On the following night the Mexicans, having lost nearly two thousand men, made a precipitate retreat. The Americans also lost heavily, their killed, wounded and missing numbering seven hundred and forty-six. This was, however, the last of General Taylor's battles. He soon after left the field, and returned to the United States, where he was received with great enthusiasm. He was indeed, in the popular estimation, the hero of the war.

With the opening of spring, 1847, General Scott found himself at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, ready for his campaign against the capital. On the 9th of March he landed to the south of Vera Cruz and succeeded in investing that city. Batteries were planted but eight hundred yards from the defenses, while on the water side the American fleet began a bombardment of the celebrated castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. This fortress had been erected by Spain in the early part of the seventeenth century, at a cost of four million dollars. For four days the place was

beaten with shot and shell from the mortars of Commodore Connor's fleet and from the land-batteries which Scott had planted on the shore. Life and property perished in the common ruin. The Americans were already preparing to carry Vera Cruz by storm, when the humbled authorities came forth and surrendered. Thus was opened a route for the American advance from the coast to the city of Mexico.

The advance began on the 8th of April, 1847. The first division, under command of General Twiggs, set out on the road to Jalapa. General Scott followed with the main army. The advance was unopposed until the 12th of the month, when the Americans came upon the enemy, fifteen thousand strong, who under command of Santa Anna had planted themselves in a strong position on the heights and rocky pass of Cerro Gordo. At first view it appeared that the Mexicans could not be driven from their stronghold ; but their expulsion was a necessity to further progress. Scott arranged his army in three columns for an assault, which, according to the rules and history of war, promised only disaster and ruin ; but the spirit of the army was high and the General did not hesitate to take the risk.

The attack was made on the morning of the 18th of April, and before noonday every position of the Mexicans was carried by storm. They were hurled from their fortifications and driven off in a general rout. Nearly three thousand prisoners were captured, together with forty-three pieces of bronze artillery, five thousand muskets and accouterments enough to supply an army. The American loss in killed and wounded numbered four hundred and thirty-one ; that of the Mexicans fully a thousand. Santa Anna barely escaped with his life by cutting loose one of the mules which drew his carriage and mounting its back, but in his haste left behind his private papers, his money chest and his *wooden leg* !

The victorious Americans pressed onward to Jalapa. On the 22d of April the strong castle Perote, crowning the peak of the Cordilleras, was taken without resistance. Here the Americans obtained another park of artillery and a vast amount of ammunition and stores. General Scott next turned to the south and captured the ancient and sacred city of Puebla, a place of eighty thousand inhabitants. It was a striking scene to witness the entrance through the gates of a mere handful of invaders two thousand miles from their homes.

The 15th of May found the American army quartered in Puebla. Scott's forces had now been reduced by battle and other exigencies of the campaign to about five thousand men. He deemed it prudent, therefore, to pause until reinforcements could arrive from Vera Cruz. In the lull of active operations an attempt was made to negotiate with the enemy; but the foolish hardihood of the Mexicans prevented even the promise of success. Scott's reinforcements arrived, and with his numbers increased to eleven thousand men he set out on the 7th of August on his march to the city of Mexico.

The route now led over the crest of the Cordilleras. The Americans had anticipated strong resistance and hard fighting in the mountain passes, but the advance was unopposed, and the army sweeping over the heights looked down on the Valley of Mexico. Never before had a soldiery in a foreign land beheld a more striking landscape. Clear to the horizon spread the green fields, villages and lakes—a picture too beautiful to be torn with the enginery of war.

The march was now unopposed as far as the town of Ayotla, within fifteen miles of the capital. The progress of the American army thus far had been along the great national road from Vera Cruz to Mexico. The Mexicans after their defeat at Cerro Gordo had gradually receded into

the interior and established themselves about the capital. They had fortified the various positions along the national roads for miles out from the city. Perceiving the character of these defenses, Scott wheeled to the south around Lake Chalco, and thence westward to San Augustine. By this detour the army was brought within ten miles of the capital.

From San Augustine the approaches to the city were by long causeways across marshes and the beds of bygone lakes. At the ends of these causeways were massive gates strongly defended. To the left of the line of march lay the almost inaccessible positions of Contreras, San Antonio and Molino del Rey. To the front and beyond the marshes were the powerful bulwarks of two fortresses called Churubusco and Chapultepec. These various outposts were occupied by Santa Anna with a force of fully thirty thousand Mexicans. The army of General Scott was not more than one-third as strong in numbers, but with this small force he pressed on to the attack.

The first assaults on the Mexican positions were made on the 19th of August by the divisions of Generals Pillow and Twiggs. The movement was against Contreras. The Americans pressing on in the darkness, cut the communications between the fortress and Santa Anna's army. On the following night another column led by General Persifor F. Smith moved against Contreras, and with the early morning carried the place by storm. Six thousand Mexicans were driven in rout and confusion from the fortifications. The Americans numbered fewer than four thousand. This was the *first* victory of the memorable 20th of August.

On the same morning General Worth advanced on San Antonio and compelled the enemy to evacuate the place. This was the *second* victory. At the same hour General Pillow moved against one of the heights of Churubusco. Here the Mexicans had concentrated in great force, and

here they fought with considerable spirit; but the height was carried by storm and the garrison scattered like chaff. This was the *third* triumph of the day. The division of General Twiggs stormed and held another height of Churubusco. This was the *fourth* victory. The *fifth* and last was achieved by Generals Shields and Pierce. The latter confronted Santa Anna, who was marching out of the city with reinforcements, attacked him and drove him back with large losses. The whole of the Mexican army was now withdrawn or driven into the fortifications of Chapultepec.

On the morning of the 21st of August, the Mexican authorities being greatly alarmed, sent out a deputation to negotiate with the victors; but the terms suggested by the Mexicans were preposterous, and General Scott, who did not consider his army vanquished—as the Mexicans alleged—rejected the proposals with contempt. The weather, however, was exceedingly oppressive, and the General rested his men until the 7th of September. With the morning of the 8th the advance was begun by General Worth, who moved against Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, the western defenses of Chapultepec. These places were defended by about fourteen thousand Mexicans. The Americans made the assault with their usual desperation, lost a fourth of their number, but carried both positions. The batteries were taken and turned on Chapultepec itself. Five days afterwards that frowning citadel was assaulted by the Americans in force, and was carried by storm. By this victory an avenue was opened into the city. Through the San Cosme and Belen gates the conquering army swept resistlessly, and at nightfall the soldiers of the Union found themselves in the suburbs of Mexico.

Santa Anna and the government fled from the city. On their retreat they turned loose from the prisons two thousand convicts, with license to fire upon the American army.

On the following morning before dawn a deputation came forth from the city to beg for mercy. Now were the messengers in earnest ; but General Scott, wearied with trifling, turned them away in disgust. “*Forward!*” was the order. It rang along the American lines at sunrise. The war-worn regiments swept into the beautiful streets of the ancient city, and at seven o’clock the flag of the United States was hoisted over the halls of the Montezumas. It was the triumphant ending of one of the most brilliant and striking campaigns of modern history.

The American army as compared with the hosts of Mexico had been but a handful. The small force which left Vera Cruz on the march to the capital lost much by battle and disease. Many detachments had to be posted en route to hold the line of communications and for garrison duty in sundry places. After the battles of Churubusco and Chapultepec *fewer than six thousand men* were left to enter and hold the capital of Mexico. The campaign had never been seriously impeded. No foot of ground once taken from the Mexicans was yielded by false tactics or lost by battle. The army which accomplished this marvel of invasion through a densely peopled country, held by a proud race claiming to be the descendants of Cortez and the Spanish heroes of the sixteenth century—denounced at every step as a horde of barbarians out of the North—was in large part, at least in the final campaigns, an army of volunteers which had risen from the States of the Union and marched to Mexico under the Union flag.

Santa Anna, after leaving his capital, turned about and treacherously attacked the American hospitals at Puebla. There about eighteen hundred American sick had been left in charge of Colonel Childs. For several days a gallant resistance was made by the enfeebled garrison, until General Joseph Lane, on his way to the capital, fell upon

the besiegers and drove them away. Such was the closing stroke of the war—a contest in which the Americans had gained every single victory from first to last.

The Mexican military power was left in a state of complete overthrow. Santa Anna, the President and commander-in-chief, was a fugitive. It was clear that the war was over, and that the American government might dictate its own terms of settlement. The Mexican republic was completely prostrated, and must needs sue for peace.

Negotiations were opened in the winter of 1847-48. American ambassadors met the Mexican Congress in session at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and on the 2d of February a treaty was concluded between the two nations. A prompt ratification followed on the part of the two governments, and on the 4th of July, 1848, President Polk issued a proclamation of peace.

Great were the changes effected in the territorial boundaries of America and Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe. Most important was the fixing of the dividing line between the two countries, which was established as follows:—The Rio Grande from its mouth to the southern limit of New Mexico; thence westward along the southern and northward along the western boundary of that Territory to the River Gila; thence down that river to its confluence with the Colorado; thence westward to the Pacific Ocean. Thus was the whole of New Mexico and upper California relinquished to the United States. Mexico guaranteed the free navigation of the Gulf of California and of the rivers of the boundary. The United States on their part agreed to surrender the places occupied by the American army in Mexico, to pay that country fifteen million dollars, and to assume all debts due from the Mexican government to American citizens, said debts not to exceed three million five hundred thousand dollars. It was thus, after the lapse

of sixty-five years from the treaty of 1783, that the territory of the United States was extended in an unbroken belt from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

So ended the Mexican war, and such were its results. On the north, meanwhile, the boundary line between the United States and the dominions of Great Britain had not been definitely determined. The sudden extension of our territories to the Pacific furnished a powerful incentive to the settlement of our northern limits, as well as the boundary on the southwest. The adversary in this case, however, was a party very different from Mexico. The Oregon line had been in dispute since the early years of the century. According to the treaty of 1818 the international boundary between the United States and the British dominions had been carried westward from the northwestern extremity of the Lake of the Woods to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, but from that point to the Pacific the two powers could not agree on a dividing line.

The United States, from 1807 downwards, had continued to claim the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, but this boundary Great Britain refused to accept. In August of 1827 a conference was held by agents of the two governments, and it was agreed that the vast region west of the Rocky Mountains lying between the forty-ninth parallel and the line of fifty-four degrees forty minutes should remain open indefinitely and impartially for the joint occupation of British and American citizens. Thus the difficulty was postponed for sixteen years, but thoughtful statesmen, both British and American, looked with alarm and anxiety to the existence of so serious a dispute.

In 1843 negotiations were formally reopened. The American Minister to England proposed the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, but this proposition was rejected as before. In the following year the British ambassador at

Washington again claimed the forty-ninth parallel as the true boundary, but to this the American government refused assent. The matter involved came to an issue on the 15th of June, 1846, when the question was definitely settled by a treaty. Every point in the long-standing controversy was decided in favor of Great Britain. In the many diplomatical contentions between that country and our own the United States has always been able to maintain its position with this single exception of the northwestern boundary. The complete surrender to the British government in this particular was little less than ignominious, and can be accounted for only on the ground that the government of the United States, as it then was, was indifferent to the extension of her domains by the addition of free territory. At any rate the settlement was such as to deprive our country of a vast and valuable region inaccessible to slavery and extensive enough for ten Free States as large as Indiana.\*

Scarcely had the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo been signed when an event occurred which produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized nations. A laborer employed by Captain Sutter to cut a mill-race on the American Fork of Sacramento River discovered *some pieces of gold* in the sand where he was digging. With further search other particles were found. The metal was tested and found to be genuine. The news spread as if borne on the wind. From all quarters adventurers came flocking. Explorers went out and returned with information of new discoveries here and there. For a time it seemed that there would be no end, no limit, to the quantity of gold which might be

\* Such was the indignation of the opponents of this treaty, especially the leaders of the Whig party, that the political battle-cry of "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight," became almost as popular a motto as "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" had been in the War of 1812.

had for picking up. Straggling gold-hunters sometimes gathered in a few hours the value of five hundred dollars.

The intelligence went flying through the States to the Atlantic Ocean, and then to the ends of the world. Men thousands of miles away were crazed with excitement and cupidity. Workshops were shut up, business houses abandoned, fertile farms left tenantless, offices deserted. At this time the overland routes to California were scarcely known. Nevertheless thousands of eager adventurers started from the Western States on the long journey across the mountains and plains. Immigrants and miners poured in from all directions. Before the end of 1850 San Francisco had grown from a miserable Spanish village of huts to a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants. By the close of 1852 California had a population of more than a quarter of a million. The importance of the gold mines of California to the industries of the country and of the world has never been over-estimated, nor is their richness yet exhausted.

The year 1846 was marked by the passage of a Congressional act for the organization of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Twenty-two years previous James Smithson,\* an eminent English chemist and philanthropist, had died at Genoa, bequeathing on certain conditions a large sum of money to the United States. In the fall of 1838 Smithson's nephew and only heir died without issue, and the properties of his uncle, amounting to five hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, were secured by an agent of the National Government. The funds were at first deposited in the mint. Smithson's will provided that his bequest should be used for the establishment at Washington City of

\* Until after his graduation at Oxford, in 1786, this remarkable man was known by the name of *James Louis Macie*. Afterward, of his own accord, he chose the name of his reputed father, Hugh Smith, Duke of Northumberland, but added the syllable *son* to indicate his descent.

"an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." In order to carry out the designs of the testator, a plan of organization was prepared by John Quincy Adams and adopted by Congress. The result has been the establishment in the United States of one of the most beneficent institutions known in the history of mankind. The "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge" already amount to more than thirty volumes quarto, and the future is destined to yield still richer results in widening the boundaries of human thought and increasing the happiness of men.

The mortuary record of this epoch includes not a few illustrious names. First of these may be mentioned ex-President Andrew Jackson, who died at his home called the Hermitage, near Nashville, on the 8th of June, 1845. The veteran warrior and statesman had reached the age of seventy-eight. On the 23d of February, 1848, ex-President John Quincy Adams died at the city of Washington. After his retirement from the Presidency he had been elected to represent his district in Congress. In that body he had displayed the most remarkable abilities and patriotism. There he acquired the well-earned sobriquet of the "Old Man Eloquent." At the time of his decease he was a member of the House of Representatives. He was struck with paralysis in the very seat from which he had so many times electrified the nation with his fervent and cogent oratory.

In 1848 Wisconsin, last of the five great States formed from the territory northwest of the River Ohio, was admitted into the Union. The new commonwealth came with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand and an area of nearly fifty-four thousand square miles. In establishing the western boundary of the State, by an error of surveying, the St. Croix River instead of the Mississippi was fixed as the line by which Wisconsin lost to Minnesota a considerable district belonging to her territory.

It was at this time that the new cabinet office known as the Department of the Interior was added to those already existing. At the foundation of the government three departments only had been organized. To these were added in course of time the offices of Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Navy. The Attorney-General of the United States had meanwhile come to be recognized as a member of the cabinet. The duties of the Department of the Interior were gathered by a division of labor from the Departments of State and the Treasury. The new secretaryship was first filled by General Thomas Ewing, of Ohio.

As Polk's administration drew to a close three parties and three candidates appeared in the field of political conflict. General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was nominated by the Democrats and General Zachary Taylor by the Whigs. The accession of vast and unoccupied territories by the successful war with Mexico had now developed in considerable vigor the anti-slavery sentiment among the American people. At first this sentiment was expressed in simple opposition to the extension of slavery into the hitherto unoccupied national domains. As the representative of this sentiment, ex-President Martin Van Buren was brought forward as the candidate of the new Free Soil party. The circumstances which gave rise to this party, destined to play so important a part in the future history of the country, may well be recounted.

The principles upon which the Free Soil party was based were aroused into activity by the treaty of the United States with Mexico and by the general results of the war. It was in 1846 that David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, introduced into Congress a bill to prohibit slavery in all the territories which might be secured by the treaty with Mexico. The author of the measure and many other statesmen and philanthropists had divined the bottom motive which was im-

pelling the American conquest of Mexican territory. That motive was the desire for the acquisition of vast regions on the southwest for the spread and development of human slavery. By this means—by the creation of new States in that quarter of the horizon—the equipoise between slaveholding and anti-slave-holding principles and powers might be maintained in the Senate of the United States.

The proposition of Wilmot was the key to all that ensued in opposition to the extension of slavery. The bill was defeated, but the advocates of the measure, called the "Wilmot Proviso," formed themselves into a party, and in June of 1848 nominated Van Buren for the Presidency. The real contest, however, lay between the Whig and Democratic candidates. The position of the two old parties on the question of slavery had not as yet been, nor indeed could ever be, clearly defined. As a consequence the election was left to turn on the personal popularity of the two candidates and such minor factitious questions as the politicians were able to devise. The memory of General Taylor's recent victories in Mexico and the democratic features of his character prevailed, and he was elected by a large majority. As Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York, was chosen.

Zachary Taylor was by birth a Virginian; by breeding a Kentuckian; by profession a soldier; in politics a Whig. He was born on the 24th of September, 1784. His father was Colonel Richard Taylor, an officer of the Revolution. In 1785 the family removed to Kentucky, which was at that time the western extension of the Old Dominion. Young Taylor distinguished himself in the War of 1812. He won honors in the Northwest, particularly in the defense of Fort Harrison against the Indians. His services were conspicuous in the war with the Seminoles. His renown became great in our conflict with Mexico. In that struggle he outshone

General Scott, and his popularity made easy his way to the Presidency. His reputation was military, his fame enviable, his character above reproach. His administration began with a renewal of the question about slavery in the Territories. California, the Eldorado of the West, was the origin of the dispute which now broke out with increased and increasing violence.

President Taylor in his first message to Congress expressed his sympathy with the Californians and advised them to frame a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. The people of California caught eagerly at the suggestion and a convention of delegates was held at Monterey in September of 1849, only eighteen months after the treaty of Guadalupe. A constitution was formed *prohibiting slavery* and was adopted with little opposition by the people. Peter H. Burnett was elected governor. Members of a General Assembly were chosen, and on the 20th of December, 1849, the new government was organized at San José. A petition in the usual form was forwarded to Congress asking for the admission of California as a State.

Now were the scenes attendant upon the admission of Missouri re-enacted in the Congressional halls; but the parts were reversed. As in that great debate, the Representatives and Senators were sectionally divided. The proposition to admit California was supported by Northern Congressmen and opposed by those of the South. The ground of such opposition was that the Missouri Compromise line in its extension to the Pacific crossed California, whereby a part of the proposed State was opened to the institution of slavery—this by an act of Congress which no Territorial Legislature could abrogate. The Southern Representatives for the most part claimed that California ought to be rejected until the restriction on slavery should be removed. The reply of the Northern Representatives was more

moral, but less logical. They said that the arguments of the opponents of the bill for admission could apply to only a *part* of California; that the Missouri Compromise had respect only to the Louisiana Purchase, and that California could not properly be regarded as a part of that purchase; that the people of the proposed State had, in any event, framed their constitution to suit themselves. Such was the issue. The debates became violent, even to the extent of endangering the stability of the Union.

It was at this juncture that the illustrious Henry Clay appeared for the last time as a conspicuous figure in the councils of his country. He came, as he had come before, in the character of a peacemaker. His known predilection for compromise was once more manifested in full force. In the spring of 1850, while the questions referred to were under hot discussion in Congress, Clay was appointed chairman of a committee of thirteen to whom all matters under discussion were referred. On the 9th of May, in that year, he reported to Congress the celebrated Omnibus Bill, covering most of the points in dispute. The provisions of this celebrated measure were as follows: *First*, the admission of California as a free State under the constitution already adopted; *second*, the formation of new States not exceeding four in number out of the Territory of Texas, said States to permit or exclude slavery as the people thereof should determine; *third*, the organization of territorial governments for New Mexico and Utah without conditions on the question of slavery; *fourth*, the establishment of the present boundary line between Texas and New Mexico and the payment to Texas for surrendering New Mexico the sum of ten millions of dollars from the national treasury; *fifth*, the enactment of a more vigorous law for the recovery of fugitive slaves; *sixth*, the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

The report of the Omnibus Bill precipitated a new debate in Congress which seemed likely to be interminable. In the midst of the discussion President Taylor fell sick and died on the 9th day of July, 1850. Vice-President Fillmore at once took the oath of office and formed a new cabinet, with Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

WITH the beginning of Fillmore's administration we enter upon a peculiar period in American history. It was the epoch during which public opinion was gradually transformed from the support of the institution of slavery and the condition of society in which slavery had its ground and root to another and more progressive and enlightened phase of progress and national morality. The period in question corresponded in time with the sixth decade of our century. It covered the administrations of Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan. Its opening was marked by the passage of the Omnibus Bill. The discussion of this great and complex measure continued to the 18th of September, when the last clause was adopted and the whole received the sanction of the President.

This bill was sustained and carried through Congress by the eloquence and persistency of Henry Clay. After the adoption of the bill the excitement of the country rapidly abated, and it seemed for the day that the distracting controversy was at an end. The peaceful condition, however, was only superficial. The deep-seated cause of the evil remained as before. The institution of slavery still existed and was destined in spite of all compromise still to disturb the harmony of American society, until it should be cut from the body of our national life with the keen edge of the sword. For the present, however, there was quiet. The Compromise Acts of 1850 were in the nature of an anodyne. They were administered with good intent and were

the last, perhaps the greatest, of those temporary, pacific measures which originated in the patriotism and hopeful spirit of Henry Clay. Shortly afterwards he bade adieu to the Senate and sought at his beloved Ashland a brief rest from the arduous cares of public life.

The Omnibus Bill proved to be a strictly *political* settlement. By it the *moral* convictions of few men were altered or amended. Public opinion took its own course, as it always does, despite the puny efforts of the men who sometimes vainly imagine that they make human history. In the North there appeared a general indefinite and growing hostility to slavery; in the South, a fixed and resolute purpose to defend and extend that institution.

To the Whig President, whose party was in the ascendant in most of the Free States, the measure was fatal. Although the members of his cabinet advised him to sign the bill, the Whigs were at heart strongly opposed to more than one of its provisions. The Fugitive Slave Law grated harshly on the awakening conscience of many of the best men of the epoch. When the President signed the bill they turned coldly from him. Though his administration in other respects was one of the ablest, most enlightened and progressive known in our history, his dalliance with the institution of slavery, however necessary such a course might have appeared to be, was not forgiven. Two years afterwards, in the Whig National Convention of 1852, although the policy of the President, with the usual political hypocrisy, was indorsed and approved by a vote of two hundred and twenty-seven against sixty, not twenty votes could be obtained in all the Northern States for the renomination of Fillmore! Thus do political parties punish their leaders for hesitating to espouse a principle which the parties themselves are afraid to avow!

To this period belongs the story of the attempt made by

a few lawless American adventurers to gain possession of the island of Cuba. Rumors of Cuban discontent had reached the United States, and it was believed by the insurrectionists that the Cubans were ready to throw off the Spanish yoke and to appeal to the United States for annexation. In order to further a rebellion against Spain, General Narciso Lopez, a Spanish-American soldier, fitted out an expedition in the Southern States, and on the 19th of May, 1850, landed with a considerable body of followers at Cardenas, a port in Cuba.

No uprising followed the adventure. Neither the Cubans nor the Spanish soldiers in the island joined Lopez's standard, and he was obliged to return to Florida. Not satisfied with this experience, he renewed the attempt in the following year and invaded Cuba with four hundred and eighty men. The force, however, was attacked, defeated, captured and the ringleaders were taken to Havana, tried, condemned and executed.

President Fillmore in his first annual message recommended to the consideration of Congress many important measures. Among these were the following: A cheap and uniform postage; the establishment, in connection with the Department of the Interior, of a Bureau of Agriculture; liberal appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors; the building of a national asylum for disabled and destitute seamen; a permanent tariff, with specific duties on imports, and discrimination in favor of American manufactures; the opening of communication between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast; a settlement of the land difficulties in California; an act for the retirement of supernumerary officers of the army and navy; and a board of commissioners to adjust the claims of private citizens against the government of the United States. Perhaps no other series of recommendations so statesmanlike and un-

partisan has ever been made to the Congress of the United States. Only *two* of the recommendations, however—the asylum for sailors and the settlement of the land claims in California—were carried into effect. The Whigs of the President's party were in a minority in Congress, and the majority refused or neglected to approve these measures.

A difficulty now arose with Great Britain relative to the coast fisheries of Newfoundland. These belonged exclusively to England; but outside of a line drawn at the distance of a marine league from the shore American fishermen had certain rights and privileges. In course of time a contention sprang up between the fishermen of the two nationalities about the location of the line. Should the same be drawn from headland to headland, thus including bays and inlets? Or should the line be made to conform to the irregularities of the coast? The latter construction was favorable to American interests; the former, to those of Great Britain. The quarrel grew so hot that both nations sent men-of-war into the disputed waters. The difficulty extended from 1852 to 1854, and it frequently seemed that hostilities were imminent. Reason, however, triumphed over passion, and the difficulty was settled by negotiation in a manner favorable to the interests of the United States.

In the summer of 1852 Louis Kossuth, the celebrated Hungarian patriot, made a tour of the United States, and was received with enthusiastic admiration. He came as the representative of the lost cause of Hungary in her struggle against Austria and Russia. He sought such aid as might be privately given to him by those favorable to Hungarian liberty. His mission in this respect was highly successful; the long-established policy of the United States forbade the government to interfere in behalf of Hungary, but the people in their private capacity gave to the cause of freedom in that land abundant contributions.

To the same period in our history belong the first efforts of explorers to penetrate the regions about the North Pole. Systematic efforts were now made to enter and explore the Arctic Ocean. As early as 1845 Sir John Franklin, one of the bravest of English seamen, sailed on a voyage of discovery to the extreme north. He believed in the possibility of an open polar sea and of a passage through the same into the Pacific. Franklin made his way to a great distance in the direction of his delusive hopes, but the extent of his success was never ascertained. Years passed, and no tidings came from the daring sailor. It was only known that he had passed the country of the Esquimaux.

Following in the wake of the Franklin expedition, others went, first of all in search of Franklin himself, and after that to explore the Arctic regions. Henry Grinnell, a wealthy merchant of New York, fitted out several vessels at his own expense, put them under command of Lieutenant De Haven, and sent them to the north ; but in vain. The government came to the rescue. In 1853 an Arctic squadron was equipped, and the command given to Dr. Elisha Kent Kane ; but this expedition also, though fruitful in scientific results, returned without discovering Franklin.

The necrology of this epoch included, first of all, the great name of John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. The distinguished Senator passed away on the 31st of March, 1850. His death was much lamented, especially in his own State, to whose interests and rights, as he understood them, he had devoted the energies of his life. His earnestness and zeal and powers of debate placed him in the front rank of American orators. As a statesman, however, he was wedded to the destructive theory of State rights. The advocacy of this doctrine against the supremacy of Congress and the nation has placed him on a lower level than that of his great contemporaries Webster and Clay. At the age

of sixty-eight he fell from his place like a scarred oak of the forest, never to rise again. Then followed the death of President Taylor, already mentioned. On the 28th of June, 1852, Henry Clay, having fought his last battle, sank to rest. On the 24th of the following October the illustrious Daniel Webster died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts. The place of Secretary of State, made vacant by his death, was conferred on the scholarly Edward Everett.

The ridiculous attempt of Lopez to start a revolution in Cuba, though the movement was totally disavowed by the United States and the officer at New Orleans dismissed who had permitted the expedition to escape from that port, created much excitement in Europe. The governments of Great Britain and France blustered, affecting to believe that the covert aim and purpose of the United States was to acquire Cuba by conquest—that our government was really behind the absurd fiasco of Lopez. Acting upon this theory the British and French Ministers at Washington proposed to the government to enter into a *Tripartite Treaty*, so-called, in which each of the contracting nations was to disclaim forever all intention of gaining possession of Cuba.

To this proposal Mr. Everett replied in one of the ablest papers ever issued from the American Department of State. He informed Great Britain and France that the annexation of Cuba was foreign to the policy of his government; that the project was regarded by the United States as a measure both hazardous and impolitic; that entire good faith would be kept with Spain and with all nations; but that the Federal government did not recognize in any European power the right to interfere in affairs purely American, and that any such interference with the principle and doctrine set forth by President Monroe would be regarded as an affront

to the sovereignty of the United States. Such were the last matters of importance connected with the administration of President Fillmore. It is proper to say that, had his policies and measures been cordially approved and seconded by the political leaders who controlled Congress, the administration would have passed into history as the most salutary since the beginning of the century.

It had now come to pass, however, that political parties existed for themselves, for their own perpetuation in power and for the purpose of using the government of the United States for the ulterior purposes of partisan advantage. The time arrived for another presidential election, and Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was put forward as the candidate of the Democratic party. General Winfield Scott was selected as the standard-bearer of the Whigs. The political aspect was wholly ridiculous. The only issue which could be found or invented seemed to be that involved in upholding the Compromise Acts of 1850. Both parties, strangely enough, instead of dividing on that issue, were for once agreed as to the wisdom and justice of the measure. Both the Whig and Democratic platforms stoutly reaffirmed the principles of the Omnibus Bill, by which the dissensions of the country had for the time been quieted.

The philosophic eye may discover in this political unanimity of 1852 the exact conditions of a universal revolt against the principles so stoutly affirmed. Certain it is that when the two political parties in any modern nation agree to maintain a given theory and fact, that theory and fact are destined to speedy overthrow. The greater the unanimity the more certain the revolution. It was so in the present instance. Although the Whigs and Democrats agreed as to the righteousness of the Omnibus Bill, a third party arose, whose members, whether Whigs or Democrats, doubted and denied the wisdom of the compromise of 1850,

and declared that *all* the Territories of the United States ought to be free. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was put forward as the candidate of this Free Soil party, and the largeness of his vote showed unmistakably the approach of the coming storm. Pierce, however, was elected by a handsome majority, with William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President.

The new chief executive was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin College, a lawyer by profession, a politician, a general of the Mexican war, a statesman of considerable ability. Mr. King, the Vice-President, had for a long time represented Alabama in the Senate of the United States, but his health was broken and he was sojourning in Cuba at the time of the inauguration. There he received the oath of office and hopes were entertained of his recovery ; but he grew more feeble and presently returned to his own State, where he expired on the 18th of April, 1853. At the head of the new cabinet was placed William L. Marcy, of New York, as Secretary of State.

Now it was that the question of the Pacific Railway was first agitated. As early as the summer of 1853 a corps of engineers was sent out by the government to explore a suitable route. At first the enterprise was regarded as visionary, but the intelligent minority clearly discerned the feasibility and future success of the enterprise. It was at this time that the disputed boundary between New Mexico and the Mexican province of Chihuahua was satisfactorily settled. The maps on which the former treaties with Mexico had been based were found to be erroneous. Santa Anna, who had again become President of the Mexican republic, attempted to take advantage of the error and sent an army to occupy the territory between the true and the false boundary. This action was resisted by New Mexico and the national authorities, and for a time a second war with

the Mexican republic seemed imminent. The difficulty, however, was adjusted by the purchase of the doubtful claim of New Mexico. This transaction, known as the Gadsden Purchase, led to the organization of the new Territory of Arizona.

The year 1853 was memorable for the opening of intercourse between the United States and the Empire of Japan. Hitherto the Oriental policy had prevailed with the Japanese government and the ports of the country had been closed against the vessels of Christian nations. In order to remove this foolish and injurious restriction Commodore Perry, the son of Oliver H. Perry, of the War of 1812, sailed with his squadron into the Bay of Yeddo. Being warned to depart he explained to the Japanese officers the desire of the United States to enter into a commercial treaty with the Emperor. There was much delay and hesitancy on the part of the Japanese government, but consent was at length obtained and Commodore Perry was admitted to an interview with the Emperor. On the 14th of July, 1853, the American officer presented to the monarch a letter from the President of the United States. For a while the old distrust prevailed; but in the spring of 1854 a treaty was effected by the terms of which the privileges of commerce were conceded to American vessels and two ports of entry were designated for their use.

While these events were happening in the Orient the second World's Fair was opened in the Crystal Palace at New York City. The sixth decade marked the beginning of the era of international expositions. The American Crystal Palace was a marvel in architecture, being built exclusively of iron and glass. Thousands of specimens of the arts and manufactures of all civilized nations were put on exhibition within the spacious building. The enterprise and inventive genius of the American people were quick-

ened into new life by the display, and an impetus was given to artistic and manufacturing industries. It cannot be doubted that international expositions are among the happiest fruits of an enlightened age.

The spirit of filibustering now reappeared in General William Walker and his invasion of Central America. This audacious adventurer undertook his enterprise in 1853. He made California his base of operations, and first conducted a band of lawless men against La Paz, in old California. In the following year he led an expedition into the State of Sonora, where he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was subjected to a trial at San Francisco, but was acquitted. Soon afterwards he raised another company and proceeded to Central America. There he was joined by a regiment of insurgents, with whose aid he fought and gained a battle at Rivas, on the 29th of June, 1855. In another conflict at Virgin Bay he was again victorious. He rose to influence, gained the upper hand and was presently elected President of Nicaragua.

Then came a change in his fortunes. A counter rebellion broke out, and the enemies of Walker were encouraged and assisted by the Vanderbilt Steamship Company of the United States. He was soon overthrown, and on May 1st, 1857, was again made prisoner. Securing his release he returned to New Orleans and organized a third force, made up of men who had everything to gain and nothing to lose. Returning to Nicaragua, fortune went against him, and he was obliged to surrender to Commodore Paulding of the United States navy. Taken to New York, he managed to regain his liberty, gathered another company about him, and in June of 1860 reached Central America for the third time. With his army he made a descent on Truxilo, Honduras; but the President of the State, assisted by a British man-of-war, overpowered and captured nearly the whole

band. On the 3d of September Walker was brought to trial and condemned to be shot. The courage with which he met his fate has half redeemed his forfeited fame, and left aftertimes in doubt whether he shall be called fanatic or hero.\*

At this period occurred the celebrated international episode known as the Martin Koszta affair. Martin Koszta had been a leader in the Hungarian rebellion of 1849. When that insurrection was suppressed he fled to Turkey, whence he was demanded as a traitor by the Austrian government. Turkey refused to render up the fugitive, but agreed that he might go for refuge to some foreign land never to return. Koszta chose the United States, came hither and took out his papers of intention, but not papers of completed naturalization. In 1854, contrary to his former promise, he returned to Smyrna, where he received a passport from the American consul and went ashore.

The Austrian consul at Smyrna, having no power to arrest Koszta *on shore*, instigated some bandits to seize him and throw him into the waters of the bay ; there a boat which lay in wait picked him up and put him on board an Austrian frigate. The American officials immediately demanded the release of Koszta, and the captain of the sloop *St. Louis* loaded his guns, pointed them at the Austrian vessel, and was about to make quick work, when it was agreed by all parties that the prisoner should be put in charge of the French government until his nationality should be authoritatively decided. Then began a long and complicated international correspondence, in which the American Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, prevailed

\* The poet Joaquin Miller, claiming to have been a member of Walker's band in the first invasion of Central America, has affectionately embalmed the memory of his brave leader in a poem, "With Walker in Nicaragua," which might well conciliate the good opinion of posterity.

in argument, and Koszta was remanded to the United State. Of so much importance is the life of *one man* when it involves the great question of human rights.

After the descent of Lopez upon Cuba the relation of the United States and Spain were strained for a season. President Pierce entertained the belief that on account of the financial embarrassments of the Spanish government Cuba might now be peaceably purchased and annexed to the United States. The purpose of gaining Cuba had been covertly entertained by several Democratic Presidents—this, with the ulterior design of extending the slave territory of the United States. The desire to purchase Cuba was one of those devices by which it was hoped to keep up the equipoise of the South and of the system of slave labor on the one side, as against the growing North and the system of free labor on the other.

The pending question was submitted to a commission having for its chairman James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. A convention of ambassadors from the various governments interested was held at Ostend and an important instrument was there drawn up, chiefly by Mr. Buchanan, known as the Ostend manifesto. The document was devoted for the most part to a statement of the arguments in favor of the annexation of Cuba to the United States by purchase. Nothing, however, of practical importance resulted from the conference or the manifesto. The logic of events was against the purchase and the question was allowed to lapse.

Now had come, under the forward movement of civilization, the time and necessity for the territorial organization of the great domains lying west of Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri. Already into those vast regions the tides of emigration were pouring, and a government of some kind was necessary for the protection of the ever-increasing frontier communities. One must needs see in the retrospect the

inevitable renewal under these conditions of the slavery question as the most important issue which was likely to affect the creation of new Territories and new States.

It was in January of 1854 that the real agitation began. In that year Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced into the Senate of the United States a proposition to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In the bill reported for this purpose the author inserted a clause providing that the people of the two Territories in forming their constitutions *should decide for themselves* whether the new States should be free or slaveholding. Should this clause obtain, it would constitute a virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for both of the new Territories lay north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, above which line it had been provided in the Missouri compact that slavery or involuntary servitude should not exist.

The ulterior motive of Senator Douglas, in thus opening anew a question which had been settled with so great difficulty thirty-three years before, cannot well be ascertained. The friends of that statesman have claimed that his action was based on the theory that all the Territories of the Union should, as an abstract and general proposition, be left entirely free to decide their domestic institutions for themselves. The opponents of Douglas held that his object was covertly to open in this manner the vast domain of Kansas and Nebraska to the institution of slavery, and by this policy he hoped to secure the everlasting gratitude of the South. To that section it was alleged that he looked in his aspirations for the Presidency. However this may be, the result of his measure in the Senate was inevitable. The old settlement of the slavery question was suddenly undone.

With the introduction of the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Bill violent debates began in Congress and continued from

January to May of 1854. All the bitter sectional antagonisms of the past were aroused in full force. It was as though a literal Pandora's Box had been opened in the halls of government. The bill was violently opposed by a majority of the Northern and Eastern representatives; but the minority from the North and East, combining with the Congressmen of the South, enabled Douglas to carry his measure through Congress, and in May the bill was passed and received the sanction of the President.

With this act the struggle which had been waged in Congress had been transferred to Kansas. Should the new State admit slavery or exclude it? The decision of the question now lay with the people or so-called squatters of the Territory. Douglas's theory was named Squatter Sovereignty, and the opposite view National Sovereignty. Free-State men and Slave-State men both made a rush for the Territory. Both parties were backed by strong factions throughout the Union. Kansas was soon filled with an agitated mass of people, thousands of whom had been sent thither *to vote*. The Free-State partisans gained the advantage in immigration; but this was counterbalanced by the proximity of the great Slave State of Missouri. With only a modest river between her western borders and the plains of Kansas she might easily discharge into the Territory a large part of her floating population, to be remanded whenever the purpose for which it was sent across the boundary had been subserved.

The Territorial election of November, 1854, resulted in the choice of a pro-slavery delegate to Congress. In the general election of the following year, the same party was triumphant. A pro-slavery State legislature chosen at this time assembled at the town of Lecompton, organized a government and framed a constitution permitting slavery. The Free-Soil party, however, declared the general election

invalid on account of the large imported vote from Missouri and other frauds. A Free-State convention was held at Topeka, and a constitution adopted excluding slavery. The rival governments were organized, and civil war broke out between the two factions.

For about a year (1855-56) the Territory was the scene of turmoil and violence. In September, 1855, the President appointed John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, military governor of Kansas, with full powers to restore order and punish lawlessness. On his arrival, warlike demonstrations ceased, and the hostile parties were dispersed. By this time, however, the agitation, having its center in the afflicted Territory, spread to all parts of the Union. Out of this complex and stormy condition of affairs the political issues were evolved for the presidential election of 1856.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, appeared as the candidate of the Democratic party. As for the Whig party, that was in a state of dissolution. The greater part had espoused the cause of Free Kansas. Clearly and distinctly these partisans put forward their doctrine of unequivocal opposition to slavery in the Territories of the United States. They nominated, as the candidate of the new People's or Republican party, John Charles Frémont, of California, known popularly as the "Pathfinder of the Rockies." Meanwhile a considerable part of the Whigs and many Democrats, anxious to avoid or ignore the question of slavery, formed themselves into a secret organization which became a political party under the name of the Know-Nothings.\* The Democratic doctrine was the support of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, or what was known as Squatter or popular Sovereignty. The Republicans boldly an-

\* The origin of this apparently absurd name is found in a part of the pledge which the members took on initiation. They promised to *know nothing* but the Union, and to *know nothing* but "America for Americans."

nounced opposition to slavery in the Territories as their fundamental doctrine. The Know-Nothing party set up its banner inscribed with opposition to foreign influence in the United States. The latter movement at one time became formidable, and several of the Northern States were clearly carried by the Know-Nothings in the elections of 1854-55. As the candidate of this party, Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for the Presidency. The election followed, and a large majority decided in favor of Buchanan and the Democratic party. The choice for Vice-Presidency fell on John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Frémont, however, obtained a surprisingly large vote in the Northern States, and but for the strong diversion made by the Know-Nothings his election had been probable.

James Buchanan was a native of Pennsylvania, born on the 13th of April, 1791. He was the last of American Presidents whose birth dated back to the eighteenth century. He was educated for the law. In his fortieth year he had risen to such reputation as to be appointed by President Jackson minister to St. Petersburg. Afterwards he was a Senator of the United States, and from that position was made Secretary of State under Polk. In 1853 he was appointed minister to Great Britain, and held that position at the time of his nomination to the Presidency. On his accession to office he gave the position of Secretary of State to General Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

It was in March of 1857, immediately after the beginning of the new administration, that the celebrated Dred Scott Decision was rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States. Dred Scott was a negro who had been held as a slave by a certain Dr. Emerson, of Missouri. In course of time Emerson removed first to Rock Island, Illinois, and afterwards to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, taking Scott with him as a slave. At the latter place Scott and a negro

woman who had been bought by Emerson were married. Two children were born of the marriage, and then the whole family were taken back to St. Louis and sold as slaves. Dred Scott hereupon brought suit for his freedom.

The cause was tried successively in the Circuit and Supreme Courts of Missouri, and in May of 1854 was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. There the matter lay for about three years. After the Democratic triumph of 1856, however, and the accession of Buchanan, a decision was at once rendered. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, speaking for the court, decided that negroes, whether free or slave, *were not citizens of the United States, and that they could not become such by any process known to the Constitution*; that under the laws of the United States a negro could neither sue nor be sued, and that therefore the court had no jurisdiction of Dred Scott's cause; that the slave was to be regarded simply as a personal chattel; that the Constitution gave to the slaveholders the rights of removing to or through any State or Territory with his slaves and of returning at his will with them to a State where slavery was recognized by law; and that therefore the Missouri Compromise of 1820, as well as the compromise measures of 1850, was unconstitutional and void.

In these extraordinary opinions—as sound legally as they were profoundly immoral—six associate justices of the Supreme Bench—Wayne, Nelson, Grier, Daniel, Campbell and Catron—concurred, while two associates—McLean and Curtis—dissented. The decision gave great satisfaction to the ultra-slaveholding sentiments of the South and chimed in agreeably with the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty. In the North, however, great excitement was produced and thousands of indignant comments and much bitter opposition were provoked by the dictum of the court.

One of the provisions of the Omnibus Bill of 1850 related

to the organization of Utah Territory. That remote, transmontane region was occupied almost exclusively by the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. By their exile from Illinois and Missouri they had virtually escaped from the jurisdiction of the United States and had planted themselves in what they supposed to be an inaccessible country. At length an attempt was made to extend the American judicial system over the Territory. Thus far Brigham Young, the Mormon Prophet, had, as the head of the theocracy, governed as he would. The community of Mormons was organized on a plan very different from that existing in other Territories, and many usages, especially polygamy, had grown up in Utah which were deemed repugnant to the laws of the United States.

In 1857 a Federal judge was sent to preside in the Territory. He was resisted, insulted and driven violently from the seat of justice. His associate officials were in like manner expelled from the Territory. Utah became a scene of terror for all officers of the United States and so-called "Gentiles." The Mormons, however, claimed in justification of their course that the officers who had been sent out to govern them were of so low a character as to command no respect.

The government deemed this excuse insufficient. Alfred Cumming, Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the upper Missouri, was sent to Utah to supersede Brigham Young in authority. Delana R. Eckels, of Indiana, was appointed Chief Justice of the Territory, and an army of twenty-five hundred men was sent to Utah to put down lawlessness by force. The Mormons were charged with the perpetration of many crimes, committed generally by an organized band called Danites who were known as the Avenging Angels of the Church. These were accused of murdering a large band of emigrants at a place in southern Utah called Mountain

Meadows. The massacre was perpetrated under the leadership of John D. Lee, who suffered the supreme penalty of the law for his crime.

Notwithstanding the show of force that was made by the military, Young and the Mormon elders were little disposed to yield. The antagonism of the people of the Territory was aroused to the last pitch. They remembered what their fathers had suffered by banishment and persecution, and could but regard this extension of government authority over them as a renewal and aggravation of the former injustice and cruelties to which they had been subjected. The American army was denounced as a horde of barbarians. In September of 1867 the national forces reached the Territory, and on the 6th of October a band of Mormon rangers attacked and destroyed most of the supply trains of the army. Winter came on, and the Federal forces, under command of Albert Sidney Johnston, were obliged to find quarters on Black's Fork, near Fort Bridges.

Meanwhile Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, was sent out by the President with conciliatory letters to the Mormon authorities. Kane went around by way of California, reached Utah in the spring of 1858, and soon succeeded in bringing about an understanding between Governor Cumming and the Mormons. Next came Governor Powell, of Kentucky, and Major McCulloch, of Texas, bringing from the President a proclamation of pardon to all who would submit to the national authority. The Mormons generally accepted the overtures. The army of the United States marched to Salt Lake City, but was quartered at Camp Floyd, forty miles distant. Here the Federal forces remained until order was restored, and in May of 1860 were withdrawn from the Territory.

The year 1858 became memorable in the history of our country, and indeed of all nations, for the laying of the first

telegraphic cable across the Atlantic Ocean. On the 5th of August in this year the great enterprise was successfully completed. The work was projected and brought to an auspicious end most largely by the energy and genius of Cyrus W. Field, a wealthy merchant of New York City.

In this year the Territory of Minnesota was organized and admitted into the Union. The area of the new State was a little more than eighty-one thousand square miles, and its population about a hundred and fifty thousand. In 1859 Oregon, the thirty-third member of the Union and second of the Pacific States, was admitted. The new commonwealth brought a population of forty-eight thousand and an area of eighty thousand square miles. It was on the 4th of March, in this year, that General Sam Houston, of Texas, bade adieu to the Senate of the United States and retired to private life. His career had been one of the most remarkable in American history. His genius was undoubted and his character of so resolute a frame that in the last years of his life the secession storm that prevailed in Texas could not sweep him from his feet or bear him away from his devotion to the Union.

The year 1859 felt a shadow from the death of the illustrious Washington Irving. He had gained a proud rank in American letters. The powers of his genius had been devoted to the creation for his native land of a literary rank among the nations. His name had become a household word in Europe. He it was, first of all, who succeeded in wringing from the proscriptive reviews of England and Scotland an acknowledgment of the power and originality of American genius.

## EPOCH OF WAR AND GREATNESS.

## CHAPTER XXV.

WE here approach the great tragedy of American history. We find ourselves in the dawn of that epoch which was destined to bring insurrection, blood and devastation in its train. Let us, in the first place, note with clearness some of the antecedents and causes which led to the tremendous conflict now impending over the American Republic.

It was believed by the pro-slavery party and the Democratic administration, extending from 1856 to 1860, that the Dred Scott decision—puny, paper manifesto as it was—would allay the troubled waters and produce a perpetual calm. On the contrary, that judicial edict came as a torch among combustibles. Some of the Free States proceeded to pass what were called Personal Liberty Bills, the object of which was to thwart the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law. A deep-seated and unquenchable animosity towards the slavery propagandists was kindled throughout the North, and many of the greatest and most enlightened Americans set themselves in relentless hostility, not only to the extension of slavery, but to the institution itself.

Next came the John Brown insurrection of 1859. Old John Brown, of Osawatomie, deliberately devised a scheme for a servile war and revolution throughout the South. He

had been one of the leaders of the Free-State militia in the border war in Kansas. He was an enthusiast, fearless, persistent, determined to do or to die, a religious fanatic who took no counsel of danger or defeat. With a party of twenty-one men like himself, but not his equals, he made a sudden descent out of Pennsylvania on the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, captured the place and held his ground for nearly two days. The militia of Virginia and then the national troops were called out to suppress the revolt. Thirteen of Brown's men were killed, two made their escape and the rest were captured. The leader and his six companions were given over to the authorities of Virginia, tried, condemned and hanged. The event was one which to the present day excites the keenest interest and liveliest controversy. Nor may it be easily decided whether an adventurer—supposing himself under the direction of the Higher Law—may in such a manner attack the abuses of a State and whether, if he do, he strikes the blow in the character of a fool and madman or as the hero and protagonist of a new era.

Ever and anon the controversy in Kansas broke out with added heat. There the Free-Soil party gradually gained the upper hand. It became evident that slavery would be finally interdicted in the new State. But a question had now been opened between the North and the South which was not to close except by the workings of the greatest tragedy of modern times. Among the Northern people anti-slavery sentiments spread and became intense. It became a *conviction* that the institution of slavery must now be curbed with a strong hand. In the minds of the younger people that institution began to have the feature of a demon. In the South, on the other hand, the opposing *conviction* grew that it was the purpose and scheme of the Northern people, first to gain control of the national gov-

ernment and then to attack them and their peculiar domestic institutions.

Such was the fretful and alarming condition of affairs when the administration of Buchanan drew to a close. The nineteenth presidential election was at hand. The Free-Soil party had now become powerfully organic under the name Republican. A great convention of the delegates of that party was held in Chicago, and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for the Presidency. The platform of principles declared opposition to the *extension* of slavery as the one vital issue. In April of 1860 the Democratic convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, but no sooner had the body convened than its utter distraction of counsels was apparent. The delegates were divided on the slavery question, and after much debating and wrangling the party was disrupted. The delegates from the South, unable to obtain a distinct indorsement of their views in the platform of the party, and seeing that the Northern wing was determined to nominate Senator Douglas, withdrew from the convention. The remainder, including most of the delegates from the North, continued in session, balloted for a while for a candidate, and on the 3d of May adjourned to meet at a later date in Baltimore.

The second convention was held on the 18th of June, according to appointment. The Northern delegates reassembled and chose Stephen A. Douglas as their standard-bearer. The seceding Southern delegates adjourned first to Richmond, and afterwards to Baltimore, where they met on the 28th of June and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The American, or Know-Nothing party, which had now lost much of its distinctive character, took the name of Constitutional Unionists, met in convention, and chose John Bell, of Tennessee, as its candidate for the Presidency. Thus were four political standards raised in

the field, and the excitement went through the country like a storm.

In the political conflict that ensued the Republicans gained much by their compactness and the distinctness of their utterances on the question of slavery. Most of the old Abolitionists cast in their fortunes with the Republican party and the support of Lincoln. The result was the triumphant election of that remarkable man by the votes of nearly all the Northern States. The votes of the Southern States were for the most part given to Breckinridge. The States of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee cast their thirty-nine ballots for Bell. Douglas received a large popular but small electoral support. His adherents were scattered through all the States, without concentration in any. Thus after controlling the destinies of the republic for sixty years, with only temporary breaks in 1840 and 1848, the Democratic party was overthrown and driven from the field.

But what was the result? The Southern leaders had declared already that the election of Lincoln by the votes of the Northern States would be just cause for a dissolution of the Union. Threats to secede had been freely indulged in the Southern States, but in the North such expressions were regarded as mere political bravado, made up of sound and fury, signifying nothing. It was believed that no actual purpose of rebellion existed among the people of the South. The threats that were indulged in rather instigated than deterred the Republicans of the populous North from voting according to their political convictions. They crowded to the polls and their favorite was elected by a plurality of the electoral votes.

For the time, however, the government remained under control of the Douglas Democracy. A majority of the members of the cabinet and a large number of Senators and Representatives belonged to the Breckinridge party. These

had imbibed from their pro-slavery education and local attachments all the fire-eating proclivities of the extreme South. Such members of Congress began openly to advocate in the Senate and House of Representatives the doctrine of secession as a legitimate remedy for the election of Lincoln. With the close of the current administration a climax was reached. With the ensuing spring all the departments of the government were to pass into the hands of the Republican party. The times were full of passion, animosity and rashness.

At this juncture the Southern leaders perceived that as affairs then stood the dismemberment of the Union was possible, but that with the inauguration of Lincoln and the establishment of Republican rule such a movement would probably be thwarted and become an impossibility. Great was the embarrassment of the President. He was not himself a disunionist. In argument he denied the right of a State to secede; but at the same time he declared himself not armed with Constitutional power to prevent by force the secession of a sovereign State. His attitude thus favored the plans of the secession party. Buchanan's theory of government was sufficient of itself to paralyze the remaining energies of the executive and to make him helpless in the presence of the great emergency. It was with wisdom and craft, therefore, on the part of the Southern leaders that the interval between the November election of 1860 and the inauguration of Lincoln was seized as the opportune moment for the dissolution of the Union.

The event showed that the train had already been laid for the impending catastrophe. The actual work of secession broke out in South Carolina. The disunion proclivities of that State, after a slumber of thirty years, burst suddenly forth in flame and fire. On the 17th of December, 1860, a convention of delegates chosen by the people of South

Carolina met at Charleston, and after three days of fiery discussion passed a resolution that the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other States under the name of the United States of America was dissolved. It was a step of fearful importance, portending war and universal discord.

The action of South Carolina was contagious. Disunion spread with remarkable rapidity among the Southern people. Within a short time the cotton-growing States had given themselves wholly to the cause of dissolution. By the 1st of February, 1861, six other States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas—had passed ordinances of secession. Nearly all the Senators and Representatives of those States resigned their seats in Congress, returned to the South, and threw their influence with the disunion cause.

Little opposition was manifested to the movement. Those who opposed disunion did not attend the State conventions, and the voice of opposition was drowned in the universal clamor. The secession leaders rushed together, carrying with them the enthusiastic support of the planters and the young politicians of the South. In some instances a considerable minority vote was cast against disunion. A few speakers attempted, but without success, to stem the secession tide. The course of Alexander H. Stephens, afterwards Vice-President of the Confederate States, was peculiar. In the Georgia convention he openly and powerfully opposed the secession of his State. At the same time he defended the theory of secession, advocated State sovereignty, declared his purpose to abide by the decision of Georgia, but at the same time spoke against the secession ordinance on the ground that the measure was impolitic, unwise and likely to be disastrous in its results. Other prominent men in different parts of the South held the

same view, but the majority prevailed and secession was readily and enthusiastically accomplished.

With disunion came the formation of a new government. On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceded States assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and proceeded to the establishment of a government under the name of the Confederate States of America. On the 8th of the month the organization was completed by the election of Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. Thus in the heart of the South a rival government to that of the United States was speedily and effectively organized.

The President chosen by the new Confederacy was a man who had endeared himself, not only to the South but also to the nation, both as a statesman and a warrior. Mr. Davis was born in Kentucky, the birth State also of Lincoln, June 3, 1808. He graduated with honors at West Point in 1828, and was Captain in the Black Hawk War. Resigning his command, he became a cotton planter in Mississippi, from which State he was elected to Congress in 1845, but resigned his seat to accept a colonelcy in the Mexican War, through which he served with great gallantry, especially at the storming of Monterey and the battle of Buena Vista. At the conclusion of the war with Mexico, Mr. Davis returned to his plantation, but was almost immediately elected to the U. S. Senate, in which he served two terms, with an interruption, during which time he so impressed the country with his statesmanship that in 1853 President Pierce tendered him the cabinet portfolio of Secretary of War. He was a careful guardian of Southern interests, and was urged to become a candidate for the Presidency in 1860; however, being at the time a senator from Mississippi, he declined. One year later he was chosen provisional President of the Southern Confederacy, and was inaugurated at

Montgomery, Alabama, February 18, 1861. He was elected President in the following fall and had his second inauguration, February 22, 1862, when the provisional capital of the Confederacy was removed to the permanent capital at Richmond. Mr. Davis was a man of singular uprightness of character, and his death, which occurred at New Orleans, December 6, 1889, was sincerely mourned by the whole reconciled nation.

On the same day of the meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery a Peace Conference, so-called, assembled at Washington City. It was a fruitless and bootless attempt to stay the hurricane. Delegates from twenty-one States were present, and the optimists who composed the body still dreamed of peace. They busied themselves with preparing certain pacific and compromising amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These were promptly laid before Congress; but that body, freshly gathered from the people and inspired with the rising antagonism to the course of the Southern leaders, gave little heed to the recommendations. The Peace Conference was permitted to disperse without practical results.

Through all this excitement and upheaval Buchanan remained in the Presidency. The Democratic party still held control of the government. The country seemed on the verge of ruin. It appeared that the Ship of State was steered directly for the rocks. The Executive department was paralyzed. The President in the midst of his dismay and despair went about the halls of the White House wringing his hands. The army of the United States had been intentionally sent in detachments to remote frontiers. The fleet was scattered in distant seas. The credit of the nation had sunk so low that the government was unable to borrow funds for current emergencies at twelve per cent.

Meanwhile the Southern leaders were having everything

according to their counsel. All things seemed for the time to favor them in the work of disruption. They proceeded to seize public properties, arsenals, and as many as possible of the government posts. Along the Atlantic coast only four of the national ports were for the present saved from capture. These were Forts Sumter and Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, and Fortress Monroe, in the Chesapeake. All the other naval ports and posts in the seceded States were seized by the Confederate authorities, even before the organization of their government. Meanwhile the local warfare in far-off Kansas continued to break out at fitful intervals, but the Free-State party gained at length a complete ascendancy and the early admission of Kansas into the Union with two additional Republican Senators was a foregone conclusion.

At the beginning of 1861 the President, rousing himself for a moment, made a feeble attempt to reinforce and provision the garrison of Fort Sumter. The steamer *Star of the West* was sent thither with supplies and men; but the Confederates were informed beforehand of all that was being done, and they found no trouble in defeating the enterprise. As the steamer approached the harbor of Charleston, she was fired on by a Confederate battery and compelled to stand off. Thus, in gloom and grief and the upheavals of revolution, did the administration of James Buchanan draw to a close. Such was the dreadful condition of affairs that it was deemed prudent for the new President to reach the capital *in the night* and without recognition. For the first time in the history of the nation the chief magistrate of the republic slipped into Washington City in the darkness as a means of personal safety!

Abraham Lincoln was, however, the man for the hour and the epoch. He had been thrown to the front by those processes which in the aggregate look so much like Provi-

dence. The new executive, sixteenth President of the United States, was a Kentuckian by birth, born in the County Larue, on the 12th of February, 1809. His ancestors were from Rockingham County, Virginia. The childhood of Lincoln was passed in utter obscurity. The family were backwoods people of the lowest order. In 1816 Thomas Lincoln, the father of Abraham, removed to Spencer County, Indiana, and built a cabin in the woods, near the present village of Gentryville. At sixteen we find the future President managing a ferry across the Ohio—a service for which he received six dollars a month. He managed to obtain in all about one year's schooling. In the year of his majority, his father's family removed to the north fork of the Sangamon, ten miles west of Decatur, Illinois. Here another log-house was built, and here Abraham Lincoln began for himself the hard battle of life.

"The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,  
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's ax ;  
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,  
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks ;  
The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear,—  
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train.  
Rough culture ; but such trees large fruit may bear,  
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain."

It were long to tell the story of the hardships and struggles through which young Lincoln passed before he gained the attention of his fellow-men and rose to distinction. He served as a captain in the Black Hawk War, and afterwards became a lawyer, in which profession his amazing common sense rather than erudition brought him success. In 1849 he was elected to Congress, where he distinguished himself as a humorous speaker. It was in 1858, when a candidate for the office of United States Senator from Illinois, that he first revealed, in his great debates

with Senator Douglas, the full scope of his originality and genius. Two years after this combat of giants he was nominated and elected to the Presidency. At the time of his inauguration he had entered his fifty-third year. He delivered on that occasion a carefully prepared address, declaring his fixed purpose to uphold the Constitution and preserve the integrity of the Union. At the first it was his policy to ignore the action of the seceded States as a thing in itself null, void and of no effect.

At the head of the new cabinet was placed William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; but the latter was soon succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton. The department of the navy was intrusted to Gideon Wells. In his inaugural address and first official papers the President distinctly outlined his policy, which was in brief to repossess the forts, arsenals and public property which had been seized by the Confederates, and to re-establish the authority of the government in all parts of the Union.

Now it was that military preparations and movements were visible at the national capital. There was the portent of war. On the 12th of March, 1861, certain commissioners from the seceded States sought to obtain from the government a recognition of their independence; but the negotiations were, of course, unsuccessful. Then came the second attempt to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter, and hard upon that act followed the beginning of hostilities.

The defenses in Charleston harbor were held at this time by a Federal garrison of seventy-nine men, under command of Major Robert Anderson. Owing to the feebleness of his force, he abandoned Fort Moultrie, and took up his position in Fort Sumter. By this time Charleston

was swarming with Confederate volunteers, and powerful batteries were built around the harbor bearing on Fort Sumter. When it was ascertained that the Federal government was about to reinforce the forts, the authorities of the Confederate States determined to anticipate the movement by compelling Anderson to surrender.

To this end General G. T. Beauregard, commandant of Charleston, sent a flag to Major Anderson, demanding the evacuation of the fort. The Major replied that he should hold the fort and defend his flag. On the following morning, April 12th, 1861, at half-past four o'clock, the first gun of the great war was discharged from a Confederate battery. A terrific bombardment of thirty-four hours' duration followed. Fort Sumter was beaten into ruins and obliged to capitulate. The honors of war were granted to Anderson and his men, who had made a brave and obstinate resistance. The sequel showed that no lives were lost either in the fort or on the shore. The Confederates, by the complete success of their initial onset, obtained control of Charleston harbor. The news of the capture of Sumter spread through the country like a flame of fire.

There had been on the part of the people a vague expectation of violence, but the actual shock came like a thunder peal. The towns became gorged with excited crowds eager to gather tidings and comment on the outbreak of war. Gray-haired men talked gravely of the deed that was done, and prophesied its consequences. The general effect of the assault on Sumter was to consolidate opinion in both the North and the South. On either side the sentiments of the people were crystallized into a firmly set antagonism, which was only to be broken by the shock of battle.

With the fall of Sumter, President Lincoln immediately issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, to serve

three months in the overthrow of the secession movement. Two days later Virginia seceded from the Union. On the 6th of May, Arkansas followed, and then North Carolina, on the 20th of the same month. In Tennessee, particularly in East Tennessee, there was a powerful opposition to disunion, and the secession ordinance was with great difficulty adopted by the people, June 8th, 1861. In Missouri the effort of the secessionists to withdraw from the Union precipitated civil war, and in Kentucky the authorities issued a proclamation of neutrality. In Maryland the people divided into hostile parties, the disunion sentiment being preponderant.

The North responded promptly to the call of the President. Volunteers at once began to march for Washington. On the 19th of April, when the first regiments of Massachusetts men were passing through Baltimore they were fired upon by the citizens and three men were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the war. On the day before this event a body of Confederates advanced on Harper's Ferry, to capture the armory at that place. The officer in command hastily destroyed a portion of the vast magazines and then escaped into Pennsylvania. On the 20th of April a company of Virginians attacked the great navy yard at Norfolk. The officers fired the buildings and ships, spiked the guns and withdrew. The Confederates took possession and recovered many of the guns and vessels, turning them in aftertime against the government.

Virginia soon swarmed with volunteers from the South, and it was not long until Washington City was in imminent danger of capture. The national government and the great communities of the Northern States were astounded at the vehement energy displayed by the Confederates. The first duty of the administration was to secure the capital. On the 3d of May the President issued a new call



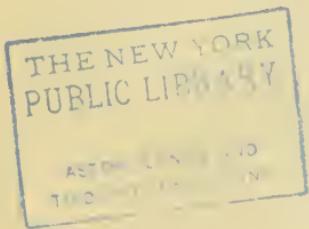
commemorative of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Two small groups are seated at the table, and above them, on the wall, are the three delegations from New York, New Jersey, and the South, the last named being the Committee of Safety. The Committee of Safety is represented by a group of men seated at a table, and the other two delegations are seated in the background. The picture is a good example of the style of painting of the period.

From the Capitol Painting by Trumbull.

### SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

This great painting was planned at Jefferson's home in Paris where the artist, John Trumbull, had the assistance of the minister's advice. The costumes are those of the period, and the faces were all painted either from sittings or portraits, so as to insure the greatest possible accuracy. Trumbull was not only a famous artist but he was specially qualified for the work by reason of his services in the Revolutionary war, for he was an aide-de-camp to General Washington, and adjutant-general with Gates' command. He was employed by resolution of Congress, approved February 6, 1817, to execute four paintings commemorative of the most important events of the Revolution, to be hung in the Capitol rotunda when completed. The work occupied him from 1817 until 1824, for which he received from the government \$32,000. In the picture, John Hancock, the president, sits at the table, and before him are the committee, advancing to submit their report, an effective treatment, though not accurate as to the custom.





for men, setting the number at eighty-three thousand and the term of service at three years or during the war. A fleet was equipped and sent forth to blockade the Southern ports. On every side was heard the note of preparation. The spirit of the people both North and South was thoroughly aroused and a great war thundered in the horizon.

Meanwhile the Confederate Congress adjourned from Montgomery to meet on the 20th of July, at Richmond, which was chosen as the capital of the Confederacy. To that place had already come Jefferson Davis and the officers of his cabinet. There the seceded government took form and substance. The men who had its destinies in charge were capable and experienced statesmen, full of animosity and determined to win independence or perish in the conflict. So stood the antagonistic powers at the beginning of summer, 1861. It was now evident to all men—slow indeed had they been to believe it—that one of the greatest conflicts of modern times was impending over the United States. What, then, were the causes which produced the Great Rebellion of 1861 and plunged the country into a ruinous and bloody civil war?

The first and most general of these causes was *the different construction put upon the national Constitution* by the people of the North and the South. A difference had always existed as to how that instrument should be understood and interpreted. The question had respect to the relation between the States and the general government. One party held that under the Constitution the Union of the States is indissoluble; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in the central government; that the States are subordinate thereto; that the constitutional acts of Congress are binding on the States; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to the general government, not to his

State ; and that all attempts at nullification and disunion are in their nature disloyal and treasonable.

The disunionists, on the other hand, held that the national Constitution is a compact among sovereign States ; that these States constitute a Confederacy, or what the Germans call *Staatenbund* ; that for certain reasons the Union may be dissolved by the States ; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in the individual States and not in a central government ; that Congress can exercise no other than delegated powers ; that a State feeling aggrieved may annul an act of Congress so far as itself is concerned ; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to his own State and afterwards in a secondary sense to the general government ; and that acts of nullification and disunion are justifiable, revolutionary and honorable. The theory was, in brief, that the Constitution itself provided that the States under the Constitution might abrogate the Constitution as it related to themselves and thereby dissolve the Union.

The issue thus stated and existent in the United States was as serious and portentous as any that ever threatened the peace of a nation. It struck into the very vitals of the government. It threatened to undo the whole civil structure of the United States. The question had existed from the foundation of the government. For a long time the parties who disputed about the meaning of the Constitution were scattered in various sections. In our earlier history the doctrine of State sovereignty had been most advocated in New England. It was there that the greatest suspicion of the Union existed. With the rise of the tariff question the local position of the parties was shifted and reversed. The tariff—a Congressional measure—favored the Eastern States at the expense of the South. Therefore the people of New England, and ultimately of the greater part of the North, passed over to the advocacy of national sovereignty,

while the people of the South espoused the doctrine of State Rights. As early as 1831 the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress was openly advocated in South Carolina and by her greatest statesman in the Senate of the United States. The belief in State sovereignty became more and more prevalent in the South, less and less prevalent in the North. Such was the origin of sectional parties in the country.

The second general cause of the civil war was *the different systems of labor in the North and the South*. It was in a word the question of slavery. Possibly, indeed, this cause ought to be stated first, as it underlay ultimately even the dispute about the Constitution and the meaning of that instrument. In the South labor had tended naturally to agricultural production; in the East and North, to manufactures and commerce. In the South slavery existed. In the East and North slavery *had* existed, but had passed away. In the former section the laborers were bondmen, property, slaves; in the latter, free men, citizens, voters. In the South the theory was that capital is the owner of labor; in the North, that both labor and capital are free. The abolition of slavery in the Eastern and Middle States had been easily effected because of the unprofitableness of that form of labor. In the five great States formed out of the territory northwest of the River Ohio slavery had been excluded by the Jeffersonian ordinance of 1787. There was thus a dividing line through the Union. On the one side there was slavery; on the other, free labor. A powerful antagonism existed on this account between the two sections, and the discord was aggravated by several subordinate causes.

Among these may be mentioned, first of all, *the invention of the cotton-gin*. In 1793 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, fresh from college, went to Georgia as a school teacher, and

resided with the family of Mrs. Greene, widow of General Nathaniel Greene of the Revolution. While there he became much interested in the difficult process of picking cotton by hand, that is, separating the seed from the fiber. So tedious was the process that the production of upland cotton was nearly profitless. The cotton plant grew well in many of the Southern States, but the production was rendered of no effect by the amount of labor required to prepare the product for the market. Whitney, with the inventive curiosity of his race, succeeded in constructing a gin which astonished the beholder by the rapidity and excellence of its work. Cotton in the seed was separated to perfection and with great facility by the machine. Cotton suddenly became the most profitable of all the staples of the South. The industry of the cotton-producing States was revolutionized. Whitney obtained patents on his invention, but the greed for obtaining and using his machine was so great that no court could or would protect him in his rights. Before the Rebellion of 1861 it was estimated that the cotton-gin had added an aggregate of a billion dollars to the revenues of the Southern States. Just in proportion to the increased profitableness of cotton, slave labor became important, slaves valuable, and the system of slavery a fixed and deep-rooted institution.

Slave-ownership was thus imbedded in Southern society. The separation between the laboring and the non-laboring class was not only a separation of race, but it was a separation of *condition*. The condition had become hereditary. Slavery came to be regarded as a natural, rightful and necessary part of the best social organization in the world. Seeing themselves lifted above the servile class, the slaveholders came to look upon the system of free labor and the free laborers of the North with contempt.

The reader will be able in these antecedents to discover

the bottom reasons of the several crises through which the nation had already passed. The slavery question became a menace to all politics and statesmanship. The danger of disunion springing from this cause was already fully manifested in the *Missouri agitation* of 1820-21. Threats of dissolving the Union were freely and recklessly made both in the South and the North; in the South, because of the proposed rejection of Missouri as a slaveholding State; in the North, because of the proposed enlargement of the dominion of slavery. Henry Clay and his fellow-statesmen sought by the Missouri Compromise to remove forever the slavery issue from the politics of the country, but their success was temporary, evanescent. Lincoln himself, in the opening of his great debates with Senator Douglas, announced first of all to the nation the ultimate irreconcilability of the opposing elements in the American system. He declared that a house divided against itself cannot stand; that the institution of slavery, to carry out the analogy, must either become universal in the United States or else by limitation be put in such a condition as to lead to its ultimate extinction.

Returning to the historical causes of the Civil War, we find the next in order of time to be the *nullification acts of South Carolina*. These, like the rest, turned upon the institution of slavery and the profitableness of cotton. The Southern States had become cotton-producing; the Eastern States had devoted their energies to manufactures. The tariff seemed to favor manufactures at the expense of the producers of raw material. Mr. Calhoun and his friends proposed to remedy the evil complained of by annulling the laws of Congress and thus forcing an abolition of the tariff. His measures failed, but another compromise was found necessary in order to allay the animosities which had been awakened.

*The annexation of Texas* was the next step in the great evolution leading to disunion and war. With that event came a tremendous enlargement of the domain of slavery and the reawakening of the agitation. Those who opposed the Mexican War did so, not so much because of the injustice of the conflict, as because of the fact that thereby the area of slave territory would be vastly extended. Next, in 1854, came the passage of *the Kansas-Nebraska Bill*. The Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the whole question opened anew. By this time the character and civilization of the Northern and Southern people had become widely different. A much more general cause of the Civil War was *the want of intercourse between the people of the North and the South*. Obeying those cosmic laws by which the population of the earth has always been distributed, the people west of the Alleghanies had been carried to their destinations in channels flowing from the east to the west—never from the north to the south. The artificial contrivances of civilization had been arranged along the same lines. The great railroads and thoroughfares ran east and west. All migrations had been back and forth in the same course. Between the North and the South there had been only a modicum of travel and interchange of opinion. The people of the two sections had become more unacquainted than they were even at the time of the Revolution. The inhabitants of the North and the South, without intending it, had become estranged, jealous, suspicious. They misrepresented each other's beliefs and purposes. They suspected each other of dishonesty and ill-will. Before the outbreak of the war, the people of the two sections had come to look upon each other almost in the light of different nationalities.

Still a fourth cause may be found in *the publication and influence of sectional books and writings*. During the twenty

years preceding the war many works were published, both in the North and the South, whose popularity depended wholly or in part on the animosity and distrust existing between the two sections. Such books were frequently filled with ridicule and falsehood. The manners and customs, the language and beliefs, of one section were held up to the contempt and scorn of the people of the other section. The minds of all classes, especially of the young, were thus prejudiced and poisoned. In the North the belief was fostered that the South was given up to inhumanity, ignorance and barbarism, while in the South the opinion prevailed that the Northern people were a selfish race of mean, mercenary, cold-blooded Yankees.

To these antecedents must be added, in the next place, *the evil influence of demagogues*. It is the misfortune of republican governments that they many times fall under the domination of bad men. In the United States the demagogue has enjoyed special opportunities for mischief. In the sixth decade of the century American statesmanship and patriotism were at a low ebb. Ambitious and scheming men had obtained control of the political parties and made themselves leaders of public opinion. The purposes of such were selfish in the last degree. The welfare and peace of the country were put aside as of little value. In order to gain power and keep it, many unprincipled men in the South were anxious to destroy the Union, while the demagogues of the North were willing to abuse the Union in order to accomplish their purposes.

To all these causes must finally be added *a growing public opinion in the North against the institution of slavery itself*—a hostility inborn and inbred against human chattelhood as a fact. The conscience of the nation began to struggle, and the belief was more and more entertained that slavery was a civil and social crime *per se*, and ought to be

destroyed. This opinion, this conviction, comparatively feeble at the beginning of the war, was rapidly developed, and had much to do in determining the direction and final issue of the conflict. Such in brief were the principal causes which led to the Civil War in the United States, one of the most terrible and bloody strifes of modern times.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE struggle now impending was between the Union under the Constitution, upheld by the government at Washington and supported by the populous Northern States, on the one side, and the new Confederate government established at Richmond, backed by the forces of the South and the whole power of the ancient slaveholding system, on the other. The war proper may be said to have begun on the 24th of May, 1861. On that day the Union army crossed the Potomac from Washington City to Alexandria. At this time Fortress Monroe, at the mouth of the James, was held by General B. F. Butler, with twelve thousand men. In the immediate vicinity, at a place called Bethel Church, was a detachment of Confederates under command of General Magruder. On the 10th of June a body of Union troops was sent to dislodge them, and was repulsed with considerable losses. Such was the opening scene in Old Virginia.

West of the mountains the conquest of the State had been undertaken by a Union army under General George B. McClellan. In the latter part of May General Thomas A. Morris, commanding a force of Ohio and Indiana troops, advanced from Parkersburg to Grafton, and on the 3d of June attacked the Confederates at Philippa. In this fight the Federals were successful, and the Confederates retreated towards the mountains. At this juncture General McClellan arrived, assumed command, and on the 11th of July gained a victory of some importance at Rich Mountain. General Garnet, the Confederate commander, fell back to Cheat

River, where he was a second time defeated and himself killed in battle.

The next combat was on the 10th of August, between General Floyd, commanding the Confederates at Camifex Ferry, on Gauley River, and the Union forces under General Rosecrans. The latter were victorious and the Confederates retreated. On the 14th of September a division of Confederates under General Robert E. Lee was defeated at Cheat Mountain, by which success the Federal authority was restored throughout West Virginia.

In the meantime General Robert Patterson marched with a Federal force from Chambersburg to retake Harper's Ferry. On the 11th of the month the division of Colonel Lewis Wallace made a sudden and successful onset upon a detachment of Confederates at Romney. Patterson crossed the Potomac with the main body, entered the Shenandoah Valley and pressed back the Confederates to Winchester. Thus far there had been only petty conflicts—the premonitory onsets and skirmishes of the great struggle. But the time had now arrived for the first real battle of the war.

After the retirement of the Confederates from West Virginia the Confederate forces of the State, commanded by General Beauregard, were concentrated at Manassas Junction, on the Orange Railroad, twenty-seven miles west of Alexandria. Another large Confederate force, under General Joseph E. Johnston, lay in the Shenandoah Valley, within supporting distance of Beauregard. The Union army at Alexandria was commanded by General Irwin McDowell, and General Patterson was stationed in front of Washington to watch Johnston's movements and prevent the latter from joining Beauregard.

The advance of the Union army was begun on the 16th of July. Two days afterwards an unimportant engagement took place between Centerville and Bull Run. The Fed-

erals then pressed on, and on the morning of the 21st of July came upon the Confederate army strongly posted between Bull Run and Manassas Junction. Here a general battle ensued, continuing with great severity until noonday. The advantage was with the Union army, and it seemed probable that the Confederates would suffer a complete defeat; but in the crisis of the battle General Johnston arrived with nearly six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah Valley. The tide of victory turned immediately, and McDowell's whole army was thrown back in rout and confusion. A panic spread through the Union forces. The army had been followed out from Washington by a throng of non-combatants. Soldiers and citizens became mixed together in the retreat, and the whole mass rolled back in disorganization into the defenses of Washington. The losses on both sides were great, being on the Union side 2,951 and on the Confederate side 2,050. Never before in America had such numbers fallen in battle; and yet this was but the feeble introduction to the bloody, desperate and long-continued struggle which was about to ensue.

Great were the chagrin and humiliation of the North and great was the exultation of the Confederates. The Federal government was with good reason alarmed for the safety of Washington City. In Richmond there were jubilation and confidence. There on the day before the battle the new Confederate government was organized. The Southern Congress assembled, and into it were gathered the pride, the talent and the experience of the South. Many men of distinguished abilities were there. Jefferson Davis, the President, was a far-sighted and talented man. His experience was wide and thorough as a civilian and his reputation as a soldier, earned in the Mexican War, was enviable. He had served in both Houses of Congress and as a member of Pierce's cabinet. His talents, character and ardent advo-

cacy of State Rights made him the natural, if not the inevitable, leader of the Confederacy in the impending conflict with the Union.

For a brief season the disaster at Bull Run seemed to paralyze the Union cause. Military operations in the East ceased. In Missouri, however, hostilities broke out and were attended with important consequences. Missouri, though a slaveholding State, had not seceded from the Union. The convention which was called by Governor Jackson in accordance with an act of the legislature refused to pass an ordinance of secession. The Disunion party, however, was strong and aggressive. The governor was himself the leader of this party and the Disunionists were loath to give up the State.

Civil war supervened. Federal and Confederate camps were organized in many parts of the State. The Confederates captured the United States arsenal at Liberty, in Clay County, and obtained thereby supplies, arms and munitions. They then formed Camp Jackson, in the western suburbs of St. Louis, and the arsenal of that city was endangered. At this juncture, however, Captain Lyon appeared on the scene and removed the arms and stores of St. Louis first to Alton and then to Springfield, Illinois. He then attacked Camp Jackson and broke up that rendezvous of the Confederate party.

The Confederates from Arkansas and Texas now made a rush to secure the lead mines in the southwest part of Missouri. On the 17th of June General Nathaniel Lyon encountered a Confederate force under Governor Jackson, at Booneville, and gained a decided advantage. On the 5th of July the Federals under Colonel Franz Sigel were successful in a severe engagement with Jackson's forces at Carthage. Then came the battle of Bull Run in the East. On the 10th of August the severest encounter thus far in

the West occurred at Wilson's Creek, a short distance south of Springfield, Missouri. General Lyon made a daring attack on the Confederate forces of Generals McCullough and Price. The Federals at first gained the field, but General Lyon was killed and his men retreated, the command falling to Sigel.

General Price at the head of the Confederate army pressed northward across the State to Lexington, on the Missouri River. Here was stationed a division of twenty-six hundred Federals under command of Colonel Mulligan. The fort was stubbornly defended, but Mulligan was obliged to capitulate. Price turned to the south ; the Federals rallied, and on the 16th of October Lexington was retaken. General John C. Fremont, who had been appointed to the command of all the Union forces in Missouri, followed the Confederates as far as Springfield, and was on the eve of making an attack when he was superseded by General Hunter. The latter drew back to St. Louis, where he was in turn superseded by General Henry W. Halleck. Late in the year Price fell back towards Arkansas.

The only remaining movement of importance was at Belmont, on the Mississippi. It will be remembered that Kentucky had declared neutrality as her policy in the war. The Confederate government, however, sent General Leonidas Pope with an army into the State, to enable the Disunion party to overbear the Unionists. Pope captured the town of Columbus and planted batteries at that place commanding the Mississippi. The Confederates gathered in force on the opposite bank of the river. With a view to dislodging this body, Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, with three thousand Illinois troops, was sent by way of Cairo into Missouri. On November 7th he attacked the Confederate camp at Belmont and was successful in the onset. General Pope threw reinforcements across the river and the Kentucky

batteries were brought to bear on the Federal position. Grant was obliged to fall back after sustaining a heavy loss, and retired to Cairo, where he prepared to attack Forts Henry and Donelson.

After Bull Run the government concerned itself first of all with the defenses of Washington. The autumn of 1861 was a season of depression to the Union cause. A reaction came, however, for with the subsidence of the panic the administration redoubled its energies. Volunteers came in great numbers from the Northern States, and the first two calls were quickly filled. The aged General Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies, found himself unable longer to bear the burden resting upon him and retired from active duty. General George B. McClellan was called over from West Virginia and put in command of the Army of the Potomac.

The event showed that the young general as an organizer and disciplinarian had no superior. The forces under his command were by the middle of October increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. The army was no longer a mere rout of volunteers, but a compact, well disciplined and powerful engine of war. On the 21st of October a force of two thousand Federals under Colonel Baker crossed the Potomac at Ball's Bluff, where they were attacked by the Confederates under General Evans and driven back to the river. Colonel Baker was killed and his force routed with a loss of fully eight hundred men.

One of the first tasks imposed on the Federal government was to gain full command of the seacoast. In the summer of 1861 several naval expeditions were sent out to maintain the authority of the United States along the Confederate sea-border. Commodore Stringham and General Butler sailed to the coast of North Carolina, and the 29th of August captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet. On the 7th

of November an armament under Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman took Forts Walker and Beaufort at the entrance of Port Royal. Hilton Head, a point most advantageous for operations against Charleston and Savannah, thus fell into the power of the government. A blockade was successfully established around the whole Confederate coast, and soon became so rigorous as to cut off all communication between the Confederate States and foreign nations. A serious difficulty arose at this juncture on account of the blockade between the Federal government and Great Britain.

One of the chief reliances of the Confederacy was the cotton crop or the Southern States. American cotton had become a virtual necessity to the factories of England. To have the cotton supply cut off suddenly was in the nature of a calamity to the industrial interests of Great Britain. A state of feeling supervened in that country unfavorable to the United States and sympathetic with the Confederacy. The British government desired the success of the rebellion. The Confederate administration played well to this sentiment. James M. Mason and John Slidell, formerly Senators of the United States, were appointed ambassadors of the Confederate States to France and England. Before they left America, however, the Union squadron had closed around the Southern ports, and the ambassadors were obliged to make their escape from Charleston harbor in a blockade runner. Making their way from that port, they reached Havana in safety and were taken on board of the British mail-steamer *Trent* for Europe.

The *Trent* sailed, but on the 8th of November was overtaken by the United States frigate *San Jacinto*, under Captain Wilkes. The *Trent* was unceremoniously hailed and boarded. The two ambassadors and their secretaries were seized, transferred to the *San Jacinto*, carried to Boston and

imprisoned. The *Trent* was allowed to proceed on her way to England. The story of the insult to the British flag was told, and the whole kingdom burst out in a blaze of wrath.

The sequel showed how little disposed nations are to regard consistency and right when their prejudices are involved. For nearly a half century the United States had stoutly contended for the exemption of neutral flags on the high sea. The American theory had always been that the free flag makes free goods, contraband of war only excepted. Great Britain, on the other hand, had been immemorially the most arrogant of all civilized nations in the matter of search and seizure. She had in the course of her history insulted almost every flag seen on the ocean. But in this particular instance the position of the parties was suddenly reversed. The people of the United States loudly applauded Captain Wilkes; the House of Representatives passed a vote of thanks to him, with the presentation of a sword. Even the administration was disposed to defend his action. Great Britain, with equal inconsistency, flung herself into a furious passion for the alleged insult to her flag and sovereignty. For a short time it appeared that war between the two nations was inevitable.

This peril, however, was avoided by the adroit and far-reaching diplomacy of William H. Seward, Secretary of State. When Great Britain demanded reparation for the insult and immediate liberation of the prisoners, he replied in a mild, cautious and very able paper. It was conceded that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was not in accordance with the law of nations. A suitable apology was accordingly made, and the Confederate ambassadors were sent to their destination abroad. The peril of war was averted, and Great Britain was unwittingly committed to a policy respecting the rights of neutrals which she had hitherto denied, and which the United States had always contended for.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE beginning of 1862 found the government with an army of about four hundred and fifty thousand men. Nearly two hundred thousand of these composed the Army of the Potomac under General McClellan. Another division, under General Don Carlos Buell, was stationed at Louisville, Kentucky; and it was in this department that the campaigns of the year were begun. Early in January the Confederate Colonel Humphrey Marshall, commanding a force on Big Sandy River, in eastern Kentucky, was attacked and defeated by a detachment of Unionists under Colonel James A. Garfield. Ten days later an important battle was fought at Mill Spring, Kentucky. The Confederates were led by Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, and the Federals by General George H. Thomas. Both sides lost heavily, and the Confederates were defeated; General Zollicoffer was among the slain.

Operations much more important soon followed on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. The Tennessee, at the southern border of Kentucky, was commanded by Fort Henry, and the Cumberland by Fort Donelson, ten miles south of the Tennessee line. At the beginning of the year the Federal officers planned the capture of both these places. Commodore Foote was sent up the Tennessee with a flotilla of gunboats, and at the same time General Grant moved against Fort Henry. Before he reached his destination, however, the gunboats compelled the evacuation of the fort, the Confederates escaping to Fort Donelson.

The flotilla now dropped down the Tennessee, took on sup-

plies at Cairo, and then ascended the Cumberland. Grant crossed the country from Fort Henry to Donelson, and found the place well defended by ten thousand Confederates, under General Simon B. Buckner. Grant's forces were fully twenty-five thousand strong; but the weather was extremely bad, and the assaults on the fortifications must be made at great peril and disadvantage. On the 14th of February, 1862, the gun-boats in the Cumberland were repulsed with considerable losses. On the next day the garrison of Fort Donelson attempted to break through Grant's lines, but were driven back with much slaughter. On the 16th Buckner was obliged to capitulate. His army, numbering fully ten thousand men, became prisoners of war, and all the magazines, stores and guns of the fort fell into the hands of the Federals. It was the first decided Union victory of the war. The immediate result of the capture was the evacuation of Kentucky and the capital of Tennessee by the Confederates. Nor did they ever afterwards recover the ground thus lost.

Such was the real beginning of the military career of General Ulysses S. Grant. That officer at once followed up his success by ascending the Tennessee River as far as Pittsburg landing. In the first days of April he formed a camp on the left bank of that stream at a place called Shiloh Church. Here on the morning of the 6th of the month the Union army was suddenly and furiously attacked by the Confederates under Generals Albert S. Johnston and Beauregard. The shock of the onset was at first irresistible. All day long the battle raged with unprecedented slaughter on both sides. The Federals were gradually forced back nearer and nearer to the Tennessee, until at nightfall they came under the protection of the gunboats in the river. Darkness closed on the scene with the conflict undecided, but with the Federals in the most dangerous situation, and their overwhelming defeat inevitable but for the arrival, at the most

critical moment, of General Buell from Nashville with strong reinforcements.

Notwithstanding his desperate situation, General Grant, during the night, with General William T. Sherman, made arrangements to assume the offensive on the morrow. General Johnston had been killed in the first day's battle. Beauregard, on whom the command was devolved, was unable to gain any further successes. On the contrary, when the battle was renewed on the morning of the 7th, everything went against the Confederates, and they were obliged to fall back in full retreat to Corinth. The losses in killed, wounded and missing in this dreadful conflict were more than ten thousand on each side. Never before had there been such a harvest of death in the countries on this side of the Atlantic.

Meanwhile the Federals had been steadily successful in a series of actions on the Mississippi. The Confederates, after the evacuation of Columbus, Kentucky, had proceeded to Island Number Ten, a few miles below, and built thereon strong fortifications commanding the two channels of the river. On the western shore the town of New Madrid was held by the Confederates. Against this place General John Pope advanced with a body of Western troops, and was successful in capturing the town. Commodore Foote's flotilla attacked the fortifications on the island, and Pope's forces co-operated with the gunboats in a siege of twenty-three days' duration. On the 7th of April, while the Union army at Shiloh, rallying from apparent defeat, was pressing the Confederates in the direction of Corinth, the garrison of Island Number Ten, numbering five thousand, were made prisoners of war. Thus was the Mississippi, as far down as Memphis, opened to navigation and secured to the control of the Federal fleets.

In the meantime a severe battle had been fought at Pea

Ridge, Arkansas, between the Union army under General Curtis and the Confederates and Indians, twenty thousand strong, commanded by McCullough, McIntosh and Pike. The battle was fought on the 6th and 7th of March and resulted in a Federal victory. McCollough and McIntosh were both killed and their shattered forces fell back towards Texas. The Union losses likewise were very severe and the battle had little consequence in the general issues of the war.

Now it was that the attention of the American people was called to one of the most striking incidents of naval warfare. After destroying the Federal navy yard at Norfolk the Confederates had raised the United States frigate *Merrimac*, one of the sunken ships, and plated her sides with an impenetrable armor of iron. At this time the Union fleet was lying at Fortress Monroe. When the equipment of the *Merrimac* was completed, she was sent down to attack and destroy the squadron. Reaching that place on the 8th of March, the *Merrimac*, called by the Confederates the *Virginia*, began the work of destruction, and two powerful ships, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, were sent to the bottom. It appeared certain that the work would go on until the Union fleet should be utterly destroyed.

Some time before this, however, Captain John Ericsson, of New York, had invented and built a peculiar war vessel which he named the *Monitor*, with a single round tower of iron exposed above the water-line. The tower was made to revolve so as to bring its two great guns to bear alternately on any object of attack. The port-holes were thus only momentarily exposed to an enemy's shot. This strange craft steamed out from New York and came around to Fortress Monroe at the very time when the huge ironclad *Virginia* was making havoc with the Union fleet. On the morning of the 9th of March the two floating monsters came face to face and turned their terrible enginery upon each other. For

five hours the contest continued, and at the end of that time the *Virginia* was so much worsted that she gave up the contest and returned in a damaged condition to Norfolk. The event produced the greatest excitement, and the navy department of the United States turned its whole energies for the time to the construction of the new war vessels which took the name of Monitors.

In February of this year a strong force under General Ambrose E. Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough was sent against the Confederate garrison at Roanoke Island. On the 8th of the month the Federal squadron attacked and captured the place, making prisoners of nearly three thousand Confederates. Burnside next proceeded against New Berne, North Carolina, and on the 14th of March captured that place after a severe engagement. He next took Fort Macon at the entrance to the harbor of Beaufort. On the 25th of April he gained possession of the town itself.

Meanwhile on the 11th of the same month Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River, had surrendered to General Q. A. Gilmore. A still greater reverse awaited the Confederates at New Orleans. In the beginning of April a powerful squadron under General Butler and Admiral Farragut sailed up the Mississippi as far as Forts Jackson and St. Philip, thirty miles from the gulf. These forts were built on opposite shores of the Mississippi, commanding the river, and the channel between was obstructed and sown with torpedoes.

On the 18th of April the Federal fleet of forty-five vessels began the bombardment of the forts. For six days there was an incessant storm of shot and shell on the fortification. Farragut now undertook to run past the batteries; and notwithstanding the hazard, he succeeded in breaking the chain which the Confederates had stretched across the river and in overpowering their fleet. The Federal squadron

now came unopposed to New Orleans, and the city yielded. A garrison of fifteen thousand Federal soldiers under General Butler was established in the metropolis of the South. Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered two days afterwards, and the control of the lower Mississippi was obtained by the Federal government.

After Donelson and Shiloh the Confederates, though disheartened for a season, rallied at length and returned to the conflict. Kentucky was invaded by two Confederate armies, one under General Kirby Smith and the other under General Braxton Bragg. The first pressed on to Richmond, where, on the 30th of August, a battle was fought in which the Federals were routed with heavy losses. Lexington and Frankfort were taken and Cincinnati was seriously threatened. Bragg's army advanced on Munfordville, and there on the 17th of September captured a Federal force of fully four thousand men. The Confederate general pressed on towards Louisville, but General Buell made a forced march from Tennessee and arrived in that city only one day ahead of Bragg. That day, however, turned the scale. The Confederate army received a check, and Buell's army was rapidly augmented to a hundred thousand men. That officer took the field, and on the 8th of October fought with Bragg at Perryville a severe but indecisive battle. The Confederates then fell back towards East Tennessee, sweeping with them out of Kentucky a train of four thousand wagons laden with the spoils of the campaign.

The next change of scene was to the banks of the Mississippi. On the 19th of September a hard battle was fought at Iuka between the Federal army under Grant and Rosecrans and the Confederates under Price. The latter suffered a defeat, losing in addition to his killed and wounded nearly a thousand prisoners. Rosecrans afterwards took post at Corinth with twenty thousand men, while General

Grant with the remainder of the Federal army marched to Jackson, Tennessee. The Confederate commanders, Van Dorn and Price, perceiving the division of the Federal forces, turned about with the intention of recapturing Corinth, and accordingly attacked the Federal lines at that place on the 23d of October, and a severe engagement ensued with heavy losses to both parties, but the Confederates were repulsed.

The close of 1862 found the Mississippi River open to the Federals above and below Vicksburg, but in the latitude of that city it was held with a firm grip by the Confederacy. To relieve this stricture was the object of the movements which were now begun by General Grant. That officer first proceeded from Jackson to La Grange. He and General Sherman now entered into co-operation in an effort against Vicksburg. An attempt was made to capture this place in December, but on the 20th of that month General Van Dorn succeeded in cutting Grant's line of supplies at Holly Springs, obliging the Union commander to fall back. General Sherman dropped down the river from Memphis as far as Yazoo, where he landed and attacked the Confederate forts at Chickasaw Bayou. The result was exceedingly disastrous to the Federals, who lost in killed, wounded and prisoners more than three thousand men. The defeated army took to the fleet and drew back up the Mississippi.

The year was destined to close with a great battle. Rosecrans had now been transferred to the command of the Army of the Cumberland. During the fall he collected a powerful army at Nashville. General Bragg, on retiring from Kentucky, threw his force into Murfreesborough, only thirty miles distant from Nashville. Rosecrans moved against his antagonist, and on the evening of the 30th of December came upon his lines at Stone River, a short distance northwest from Murfreesborough.

Preparations were at once made on both sides for a general attack. Rosecrans planned to mass his force on the Confederate right, while Bragg's plan was the exact counterpart of that of the Federal general. Both massed to the left, so that when the battle began on the morning of the 31st the two armies were in a manner thrust by each other. The battle began with great fury and lasted until noonday. The Union right was shattered and driven from the field. The brunt of the struggle fell on General Thomas, and he, too, was forced back to another position; but he held his place until Rosecrans was able to readjust his line of battle. It was only by the utmost exertions and heroism of the division of General William B. Hazen that the Federal army was saved from a general rout. At nightfall more than seven thousand Union soldiers were missing from the ranks.

During the night, however, Rosecrans prepared to renew the fight. On New Year's morning Bragg found his antagonist firmly posted with shortened lines and defiant. That day was spent in indecisive actions. On the morning of the 2d of January, 1863, the battle broke out anew. There was a terrific cannonade, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the Confederates drove the Union left across the river. This brought the assailants, however, within range of the Federal artillery. Rosecrans rallied, and with a general advance along the whole line drove Bragg's forces from the field with a loss of several thousand men. During the night the Confederate commander drew off in the direction of Tullahoma. The losses on each side were about eleven thousand men.

With the coming of spring, 1863, active campaigns were undertaken in the East. Virginia was converted into a battle-field. The ball was opened in the valley of the Shenandoah. General N. P. Banks, with a strong division, pressed his way forward, in March, as far as the town of

Harrisonburg. On the other side General Thomas T. Jackson, known to history as Stonewall Jackson, was sent with a force of twenty thousand men to cross the Blue Ridge and cut off Banks' retreat. At Front Royal the Confederates came upon a body of Federals and routed them, capturing their guns and military stores. Banks, learning of the disaster, retreated down the valley, hotly pursued by Jackson, until the Federals put the Potomac between them and the enemy.

This excursion to the North had placed Jackson in peril. General Fremont, at the head of a strong force of fresh troops, was sent into the valley to intercept the Confederate retreat. Jackson fell back with the greatest celerity and reached Cross Keys before Fremont could attack him. Even then the engagement was indecisive, and the Confederate general was able to fall upon the division of General Shields at Port Republic and defeat it before leaving the valley and rejoining the main army for the defense of Richmond. It was the first of those remarkable campaigns which demonstrated the remarkable military genius of Stonewall Jackson.

On the 10th of March, 1862, the great Army of the Potomac, numbering nearly two hundred thousand men, thoroughly disciplined and equipped, set out under General McClellan from the camps about Washington on a campaign against the Confederate capital. It was the theory of the national government that the capture of Richmond was the principal object to be attained in the war. It was only after the severest reverses and the rise of a new group of commanders that the more sensible plan of striking the Confederate armies, rather than their seat of government, was adopted instead.

McClellan pressed forward to Manassas Junction, the Confederates falling back and forming new lines as he ad-

vanced. The Rappahannock was placed between the two great armies. At this stage of the campaign, however, McClellan changed his plan and embarked a hundred and twenty thousand of his men for Fortress Monroe, with a view to proceeding from that point up the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. This change of base occupied the time to the 4th of April, when the Union army left Fortress Monroe for Yorktown. The latter place was held by ten thousand men under General Magruder, and yet with this small force McClellan's advance was stayed for a whole month. It was one of the military peculiarities of the Union general to overestimate the forces of his enemy and to display undue caution in his presence.

On the 4th of May, however, Yorktown was taken and the Federals pressed on to Williamsburg. There the Confederates made a second stand, but were defeated with considerable losses. Four days afterwards a third engagement occurred at a place called West Point, on the Mattapony, where the Confederates were again driven back. The way now lay open as far as the Chickahominy, within ten miles of Richmond. The Union army reached that stream without further resistance and crossed at a place called Bottom's Bridge.

Meanwhile General Wool had, on the 10th of May, led an expedition from Fortress Monroe and recaptured Norfolk from the Confederates. It was at this time that the great ironclad *Virginia* was blown up to prevent her from falling into the hands of the Federals. The James River was thus opened for the ingress of transports laden with supplies for the Army of the Potomac.

After crossing the Chickahominy, McClellan advanced three miles in the direction of the Confederate capital. At that point on the 31st of May he was confronted by the Confederates in full force at a place called Fair Oaks, or

Seven Pines. Here for two days the battle raged, till at last the Confederates were forced from the field. The Union victory, however, was by no means decisive. The Confederates lost nearly eight thousand in killed and wounded, while the Federal losses were almost as great. General Joseph E. Johnston, commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies, was severely wounded, and his place was filled by the appointment of General Robert E. Lee, a man whose military genius from that time to the close of the war was ever conspicuous. He became indeed the chief stay of the Confederate cause until the day of its final collapse at Appomattox.

The battle of Fair Oaks was so little decisive that McClellan determined to change his base of supplies from the White House, so-called, on the Pamunkey, to some suitable point on the James. The movement was one of great hazard. General Lee, discovering the operation of his antagonist, swooped down on the right wing of the Union army at Oak Grove, where another hard battle was fought without decisive results. This was followed on the next day with a third dreadful engagement at Mechanicsville. In this conflict the Federals gained the field, but on the following morning Lee renewed the struggle at Gaines's Mill and came out victorious. On the 28th there was but little fighting. On the 29th McLellan was twice attacked, first at Savage's Station and later in the day in White Oak Swamp, but nothing decisive was achieved on either side. On the 30th was fought the desperate battle of Glendale, or Frazier's Farm. The Federals were worsted and McCall captured. On that night the Federal army turned about and reached Malvern Hill, on the north bank of the James, twelve miles below Richmond.

McClellan had thus receded about five miles in a circuitous direction from the Confederate capital. His position

at Malvern Hill was strong ; besides, the Federal gunboats in the James now furnished protection. General Lee, however, determined to assault the Union position, and on the morning of the 1st of July the whole Confederate army was pushed forward for the attack. Throughout the day the struggle for the possession of the high grounds was furious in the last degree. The battle lasted until nine o'clock at night, when Lee's columns were forced to fall back. For seven days the roar of battle had continued almost without cessation. No such dreadful scenes had hitherto been witnessed on the American continent, and but rarely in the Old World.

McClellan was very clearly victorious at Malvern Hill, and in the judgment of aftertimes might have at once made a successful advance on Richmond. Lee's army was almost exhausted, and vastly inferior in numbers to that of McClellan. The latter commander, however, chose as usual the less hazardous course. On the 2d of July he retired to Harrison's landing, a few miles down the river. The great campaign was really at an end. The Federal army had lost on the advance from Yorktown to Malvern Hill, inclusive, fully fifteen thousand men, and the capture of Richmond seemed further off than ever. The losses of the Confederates had been heavier than those of the Union army, but the moral effect of victory remained with the South.

General Lee, availing himself of his advantage and quickly recuperating from his losses, immediately planned an invasion of Maryland and the capture of Washington City. The Union troops between Richmond and Washington numbered about fifty thousand and were under command of General John Pope. They were scattered at several points from Fredericksburg to Winchester and Harper's Ferry. Lee's advance was made at the middle of August and Pope began at once to concentrate his forces. On the 20th of the month

he got his army to the north bank of the Rappahannock. While these movements were taking place General Banks, attempting to form a junction with Pope, was attacked by Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain, where only desperate fighting saved the Federals from rout.

Jackson now passed with his division on a flank movement, reached Manassas Junction and captured that place with its garrison and stores. Pope, with great audacity, threw his army between the two divisions of Confederates, hoping to crush Jackson before Lee could come to the rescue. On the 28th and 29th of August there was terrible fighting on the old Bull Run battle-ground and at Centerville. At one time it appeared that Lee's army would be completely defeated; but Pope's reinforcements, a strong division under Fitz John Porter, did not reach the field in time and Pope was defeated. On the 31st a dreadful battle was fought at Chantilly, lasting all day. The Confederates were victorious, and Generals Stephens and Kearney were among the thousands who fell from the Union ranks in this struggle. Pope by night withdrew his shattered columns and took refuge in the defenses at Washington. He immediately resigned his command, and his Army of Virginia was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac. The latter had now been recalled from the peninsula below Richmond, and General McClellan was placed in supreme command of all the divisions about Washington. Thus, in dire disaster, ended what is known as the Peninsular Campaign.

General Lee, victorious over Pope, pressed on to the Potomac, crossed at the Point of Rocks, and on the 6th of September captured Frederick. On the 10th Hagerstown was taken, and on the 15th Stonewall Jackson, falling upon Harper's Ferry, frightened the commandant, Colonel Miles, into a surrender, by which the garrison, numbering nearly twelve thousand, became prisoners of war. On the previous

day a hard battle had been fought at South Mountain in which the Federals were victorious. By these movements McClellan's army was brought into the immediate rear of Lee, who on the night of the 14th fell back to Antietam Creek and took a strong position in the vicinity of Sharpsburg.

Another great battle was now at hand. During the 15th of September there was much skirmishing; but night came without decisive results. These movements continued during the 16th. General Hooker, commanding the Federal right, was thrown across the Antietam, obtaining thereby a favorable position. The Confederate left, under Hood, was assailed and forced back in the direction of Sharpsburg. Then followed a cannonade until nightfall.

On the morning of the 17th both armies were well posted. The Federals were strongest in numbers, but the Confederates had the advantage of an unfordable stream in their front. It was of great importance to McClellan that he should gain and hold the four stone bridges by which passage could be had to the other side. General Burnside, who was ordered to capture the lower bridge and attack the division of A. P. Hill, was retarded in his movements; and it was only by terrible fighting that he succeeded in holding his position on the west bank of the Antietam. On the Union right Hooker fought a successful battle; but the success was gained by great losses, including that of General Mansfield. At the close of day the Union army had gained the west bank of the river, and the Confederates were worsted all along the line; but they still held nearly the same ground as in the morning, and the final struggle was reserved for the morrow.

With the morrow, however, McClellan began to act on the defensive. It was another of those fatal delays for which the military career of that general was unfortunately

noted. During the 18th two strong divisions of Federals, under Generals Humphrey and Couch, arrived, and it was the intention of the Union commanders to renew the battle on the 19th; but General Lee, wiser than his antagonist, availed himself of the delay, withdrew from his critical position and recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. The great conflict, which had cost the Union army an aggregate of ten thousand men, ended in a drawn battle, in which there was little to be praised except the heroism of the soldiery. To the Confederates, however, the campaign had ended in defeat of their plans. The people of Maryland did not rise in behalf of the Confederate cause, and General Lee was obliged to relinquish the invasion which had cost him in the short space of a month about twenty-five thousand men.

After Antietam there was another lull, and it was late in October before McClellan, following the retreating Confederates, again entered Virginia. The determination of the national government, however, was not abated. The administration was pledged to the suppression of the Rebellion. That Rebellion had now become a mighty war, strongly tending to revolution and a general change of American history. It was the intention of the authorities to make another advance on Richmond before the coming of winter, and the Union commander was ordered to prepare for such a movement. There was, however, a discord of views between that general and the administration. The latter objected to McClellan's plan of campaign, by which Washington City would be again uncovered to a counter-invasion of the Confederates. It was the desire of the Union general to establish his base of supplies at West Point, on the Pamunkey River; but the President and Secretary of War insisted that he should choose Alexandria as his base of operations. From this point it was proposed to go forward by way of the Orange railroad, through Culpeper to

Gordonsville, and thence by the Virginia Central to its junction with the line reaching from Fredericksburg to Richmond.

The sequel showed that the break between General McClellan and the authorities at Washington was fatal. The whole of October was wasted with delays and November was begun before that commander, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, announced himself ready for the advance. On the 7th of the month, when the movement was about to begin, he was superseded and his command transferred to General Burnside. Right or wrong, the President at last reached the decision that General McClellan was a man over-cautious and slow, too prudent and too much absorbed with preliminaries to lead great armies to victory.

With the accession of Burnside the plan of the campaign was at once changed. The new commander would establish his base of supplies at the mouth of Aquia Creek, fifty-five miles below Washington, and from that point move southward through Fredericksburg on his way to Richmond. But there was another great delay in preparation, and General Lee had ample time to discover the purpose of his antagonist and to gather his army on the heights about Fredericksburg. The passage of the Union army across the Rappahannock was not seriously resisted. The movement was effected with little loss or opposition, and on the 12th of December Burnside established his lines on the right bank of the river, from Falmouth to a point opposite the mouth of the Massaponax, three miles below.

Early on the 13th of December a general battle began on the Union left, where Franklin's division was met by that of Stonewall Jackson. At the beginning of the engagement General Meade succeeded in breaking the Confederate line; but the movement was not sustained; the Confeder-

ates rallied and drove back the Federals with a loss of about three thousand men. Jackson's loss was almost as great and the result was indecisive. On the center and right, however, the battle went wholly against Burnside. General Sumner's division was ordered against the Confederates on Marye's Hill and the charge was gallantly made; but the attacking columns were mowed down by the thousand and hurled back, while the defenders of the heights hardly lost a man. Time and again the assault was renewed, but always with the same disastrous result. The carnage did not end until darkness fell over the scene of conflict.

General Burnside, rashly patriotic and almost out of his wits, would have renewed the battle, but his subordinate officers dissuaded him, and on the night of the 15th the whole army was quietly withdrawn to the left bank of the Rappahannock. The Union losses in the battle of Fredericksburg amounted in killed, wounded and prisoners to more than twelve thousand men. The Confederates lost something over five thousand. Of all the important movements of the war only that of Fredericksburg was undertaken with *no* probability of success. Under the plan of battle nothing could be reasonably expected but repulse, rout and ruin. Thus in gloom, disaster and humiliation to the Federals ended the Virginia campaign of 1862.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

IF the Civil War had continued with the same results through the year 1863, the revolution attempted by the Confederate leaders must have succeeded. Thus far the conflict had, on the whole, gone in favor of the South. It appeared not improbable that the dissolution of the Union would be effected. It became the aim and determination of the Confederate government to hold out against the superior resources of the North until they should compel the national authorities to yield the contest.

The war had now grown to unheard-of proportions. The Southern States cast all on the die, and drained every source of men and means for the support of their armies. The national government also was greatly taxed, but the resources of the North were by no means exhausted. On the 2d of July, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand men. In the exciting times of Pope's retreat, he sent forth another call for three hundred thousand, and to this was soon added a requisition by draft for three hundred thousand more. Most of these demands were promptly met, and the discerning eye might already discover, at the beginning of 1863, that the national authority was destined to be re-established through the sheer force of numbers and resources.

On the first day of the new year President Lincoln issued the celebrated Emancipation Proclamation. The President had hitherto declared that he would save the Union *with* slavery if he could, but *without* it if he must. Meanwhile a

growing animosity against the system of human bondage had spread among the people. The sentiment of abolition began to prevail among both the people and the soldiery. It came to be regarded by the government as a military necessity to strike a blow at the labor system of the South, and the step was finally taken with little hesitancy or opposition. The President had issued a preliminary proclamation in September of 1862, in which he warned the people of the Southern States to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance, under the menace of the destruction of their peculiar institution. The warning was met with disdain, and the Emancipation Proclamation was accordingly issued. Thus, after an existence of two hundred and forty-four years, African slavery in the United States was swept away.

The beginning of the new year found General William T. Sherman in active movement on the Mississippi. That commander sent out an expedition early in January for the capture of Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River. The Union forces reached their destination on the 10th of the month, and after a hard-fought battle gained a decisive victory. Arkansas Post was taken with nearly five thousand prisoners. The expedition was then turned about for Vicksburg, in order to co-operate with General Grant in a second effort to capture that stronghold and free the Mississippi River.

With this end in view the Union army was collected at Memphis, and embarked on the Mississippi. A landing was first made at Yazoo, but the capture of Vicksburg from that direction was now regarded as impracticable. For three months General Grant beat about the bayous, swamps and hills around Vicksburg, in the hope of gaining a position in the rear of the town. An attempt was made to cut a canal across the bend in the river, with a view to turning the channel, thus opening a passage for the Union gunboats;

but a flood in the Mississippi washed away the works, and the enterprise ended in failure. Another canal was begun but presently abandoned. Finally, in the beginning of April, it was determined at all hazards to run the fleet past the Vicksburg batteries. On the night of the 16th the boats were made ready and silently dropped down the stream. It had been hoped that in the darkness they might pass unobserved; but all of a sudden the guns burst forth from the Mississippi shore with terrible discharges of shot and shell, which exploded among the passing steamers; but they went by with comparatively little damage, and gained a safe position below the city.

By this extraordinary maneuver Grant was now able to transfer his land forces down the right bank of the Mississippi and to form a junction with the fleet below Vicksburg. This done, he crossed the river at Bruinsburg on the 30th of April, and on the following day fought with the Confederates a victorious battle at Port Gibson. This success obliged the Confederates to evacuate Grand Gulf, and the Union army was thus free to move at will in the rear of Vicksburg.

But there was much hazard in the situation. On the 12th of May another battle was fought at Raymond and the Confederates were defeated. At this juncture General Joseph E. Johnston was on the march from Jackson to reinforce the forces at Vicksburg, which were commanded by General J. C. Pemberton. The right wing of the Union army, under Sherman and McPherson, fell in with Johnston on the 14th of the month, and a severe battle was fought in which the Confederates were defeated. Grant was able to follow up his success with the capture of Jackson. The possession of the lines of communication between Vicksburg and the interior was secured by the Union general, and his antagonist was forced back towards Vicksburg. Pemberton, however, was not willing to be shut up without a struggle for free-

dom. He accordingly moved out with the greater part of his forces, and on the 16th of the month fought with the Federal army the decisive battle of Champion Hill. This was followed by a second conflict at Black River. In both engagements the Federals were victorious, and the Confederate army was effectually cooped up within the fortifications of Vicksburg.

That city was invested and besieged by the Union army. On the 19th of May General Grant attempted to carry the Confederate works by assault, but the attack was repulsed with severe losses. Three days afterwards another assault was made, but the Federal columns, though they gained some ground in different parts of the field, were hurled back with great destruction of life. The aggregate losses in the two attacks amounted to nearly three thousand men.

The siege was now pressed with ever-increasing vigor. The Confederate garrison was presently placed on short rations. A condition of starvation ensued, but Pemberton held out for more than a month. It was not until the 4th of July that he was obliged to surrender. By the act of capitulation the Confederate army, thirty thousand strong, became prisoners of war. Thousands of small arms, hundreds of cannon and vast quantities of ammunition and military stores were the additional fruits of this great Union victory, by which the national cause gained more and the Confederacy lost more than in any previous struggle of the war. It was a blow from which the South was never able to recover.

General N. P. Banks had now superseded General Butler in the command of the department of the Gulf. That officer set out early in January from Baton Rouge, and advanced with a strong force into Louisiana. He encountered the Confederates at a place called Bayou Teche and gained there a decisive victory. He then moved northward and began a

siege of Fort Hudson, Mississippi. The beleaguered garrison, under General Gardner, made a brave defense, holding out until the 8th of July. When the news of the fall of Vicksburg reached Gardner, however, he capitulated, by which six thousand additional Confederate soldiers became prisoners of war. It was the last stroke by which the Mississippi was freed from Confederate control and opened through its whole length to the operations of the Federal army. The series of movements by which this work was accomplished reflected the highest honor upon the military genius of General Grant. After Vicksburg the attention and confidence of the North were turned to him as the leader who was destined to conduct the national armies to final triumph.

At this period of the war cavalry raids became the order of the day. These movements were an important element of larger military operations. The possibility of them was first noted and their value demonstrated by Stonewall Jackson in his Shenandoah campaigns of 1862. Later in that year, after the battle of Antietam, General J. E. B. Stuart, commanding the cavalry of the army of northern Virginia, made an excursion with eighteen hundred troopers into Pennsylvania. He captured Chambersburg, made a complete circuit of the Union army and returned in safety into Virginia.

In the spring of 1863 Colonel Benjamin Grierson of the Sixth Illinois cavalry struck out with his command from La Grange, Tennessee, entered Mississippi, traversed the State to the east of Jackson, cut the railroads, destroyed great amounts of property, and after a rapid course of more than eight hundred miles through the enemy's country, gained the Mississippi at Baton Rouge. Both sections of the country along the border lines of the war were kept in the utmost agitation and alarm by these recurring raids. With the

progress of the conflict such movements became more and more injurious. The commanders of them and the men whom they led learned to perfection the arts of destruction. The skill of the raiders was directed chiefly to the annihilation of railroads and telegraphs. This work became a new military art, and the destructive abilities of the raiders were such that miles of track and road-bed were destroyed in a single day.

After Murfreesborough, General Rosecrans remained inactive for a season. Late in the spring the command of Colonel A. B. Streight made a raid into Georgia, met the division of the Confederate General Forrest, was captured and sent to Libby prison. While the siege of Vicksburg was in progress Rosecrans resumed activities, and by a series of flank movements obliged General Bragg to retire from Tennessee into Georgia. The Union general followed, and planted himself at Chattanooga, on the left bank of the Tennessee.

The Confederate authorities now sent forward large reinforcements to Bragg, including the divisions of Johnston from Mississippi and Longstreet from Virginia. On the 19th of September the Confederate commander turned upon the Federal army at Chickamauga Creek, in the northwest angle of Georgia, where was fought one of the great battles of the war. Night fell on the scene with the contest undecided. Under cover of the darkness the Confederates, strongly reinforced by Longstreet, prepared for the renewal of the conflict. Longstreet took the Confederate left, opposite the Union right, held by General Cook. The battle was renewed on the morning of the 20th, and for a while the Federals held their ground with unflinching courage. After some hours of indecisive fighting, the national battle line was opened by General Wood, acting under mistaken orders. Longstreet, seeing the mistake, thrust forward a heavy

column into the gap, which, by the most courageous fighting, cut the Union army in two, and drove the shattered right wing in utter rout from the field. The brunt of the battle now fell on General Thomas, who held the Union left. That officer, with a desperate valor hardly surpassed in the annals of war, clung to his position until nightfall, and then under cover of darkness withdrew into Chattanooga, where the defeated army of Rosecrans found a precarious shelter. The Union losses in this dreadful battle amounted in killed, wounded and missing to nearly nineteen thousand and the Confederate loss was almost equally appalling.

Bragg bravely pressed forward at once to the siege of Chattanooga. He succeeded in cutting the Federal lines of communication, and for a while the army of Rosecrans was threatened with total destruction. General Hooker came to the rescue with two army corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee River and brought a measure of relief to the besieged. But the great step towards recovery was the promotion of General Ulysses S. Grant to the chief command of all the Western armies. That commander, whose star now struggled out of the clouds of doubt and disparagement to shine with ever increasing brightness, at once assumed direction of affairs at Chattanooga. Nor was there ever a time in the course of the war when a change of commanders was immediately felt in so salutary a measure. Sherman also arrived at Chattanooga with his division, and the Army of the Cumberland was able to assume the offensive against the Confederates.

The left wing of Bragg's army rested at this time on Lookout Mountain and the right on Missionary Ridge. The Confederate position was seemingly impregnable, but the Union commander did not hesitate to attack his antagonist. At this very time Bragg was maturing his plans for an as-

sault on Chattanooga. On the 20th of November he went so far as to notify General Grant to remove all non-combatants from the city, as he was about to begin a bombardment. To this menace the Union general paid no attention. On the 23d of the month Hooker was sent with his corps across the river below Chattanooga to gain a footing at the bottom of Lookout Mountain. He was ordered to hold himself in readiness to make an assault with the support of Generals Gerry, Geary and Osterhaus. The Union line in front of Chattanooga was kept in a state of activity to distract the attention of the Confederates from the real point of attack.

The movements of Hooker on the Union right were concealed by a fog that hung like a hood over the mountain. The assault began early in the morning and the Confederate rifle-pits along the foothills were successfully carried. The Union charge gathered enthusiasm and momentum in its course. The assault was made up the steep sides of Lookout, but the Union troops went forward with irresistible energy. The mountain was not strongly defended by the Confederates, for the reason of its apparent inaccessibility. The Federal charge went to the summit and by two o'clock in the afternoon the national flag was waving above the clouds on the top of Lookout. The Confederates retreated down the eastern slope and across the intervening valleys towards Missionary Ridge.

Bragg now perceived that he was to be the attacked instead of the attacking party. During the night of the 24th he concentrated his forces for the defense of his position. On the morning of the 25th Grant ordered Hooker to bear down the slopes of Lookout, cross the Chattanooga and renew the battle on the Confederate left. General Sherman meanwhile had thrown a pontoon bridge across the Tennessee and gained a lodgment for his division on the north-

eastern declivity of Missionary Ridge. General Thomas, commanding the Union center, lay on the southern and eastern slopes of Orchard Knob impatiently awaiting the result of Sherman's and Hooker's onsets.

Hooker was delayed in his movements, but at two o'clock in the afternoon the signal of an artillery discharge from Orchard Knob announced the beginning of the assault along the whole line. Instantly the Union column moved forward. The thrilling scenes of Lookout Mountain were re-enacted on a more magnificent scale. General Grant had ordered the assaulting columns to take the rifle-pits at the foot of Missionary Ridge and then to pause and re-form for the principal charge; but such was the *élan* of the army, such the impetuosity of its impact, that after carrying the rifle-pits the column of its own motion pressed forward at full speed, clambered up the slopes and drove the Confederates in a disastrous rout from the summit of the Ridge. No more brilliant operation was witnessed during the war.

In the following night General Bragg withdrew in the direction of Ringgold, Georgia. His army was greatly shattered by defeat. The Confederate losses had reached in killed, wounded and prisoners fully ten thousand men. The Federals lost in the two battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge more than five thousand, of whom seven hundred and fifty-seven were killed. The result was so decisive as to end the war in Tennessee until it was recklessly renewed by General Hood at Franklin and Nashville in the winter 1864.

Meanwhile General Burnside was making a strenuous effort to hold East Tennessee against the attempts of the Confederacy. On the 1st of September he arrived at Knoxville and was cordially received by the people, most of whom in this section of the State had remained firm in their allegiance to the Union. After Chickamauga General Long-

street was sent into East Tennessee to suppress the Union party and prevent the restoration of the national authority. On his march towards Knoxville he captured several detachments of Federal troops and then began a siege of the town. On the 29th of November he made an attempt to carry Knoxville by assault, but was repulsed with heavy losses. General Grant looked with the greatest solicitude to the situation of affairs in East Tennessee, and as soon as Bragg retreated from Chattanooga sent General Sherman to the relief of Knoxville. As the latter drew near Longstreet prudently retired into Virginia.

The Confederates had in the meantime resumed activities in Arkansas and southern Missouri. Early in 1863 strong forces under Generals Marmaduke and Price entered this region of country, and on the 8th of January attacked the city of Springfield. Their assault, however, was repulsed with considerable losses to the assailants. Three days afterwards another battle was fought at the town of Hartsville, with like results. On the 26th of April Marmaduke made an attack on Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, but was for the third time repelled. On the 4th of July General Holmes, with an army of about eight thousand men, made an attack on Helena, Arkansas, but was defeated with a loss of one-fifth of his forces. It was on the 13th of August in this year that the town of Lawrence, Kansas, was sacked and burned and a hundred and forty persons killed by a band of guerillas led by a chieftain called Quantrell. On the 10th of September General Steele reached Little Rock, Arkansas, captured the city, and restored the national authority in the State.

The greatest raid of the year, and perhaps of the war, was that of the Confederate General John Morgan. That officer, at the head of a cavalry force three thousand strong, started northward from the town of Sparta, Tennessee, for an in-

vasion of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. While passing through the first-named State he gathered strength, so that his force on reaching the Ohio River was formidable. He crossed at a place called Brandenburg and began his march through Indiana to the north and east. The home guards of that State turned out; but the movements of Morgan were so rapid that it was difficult to check his progress. He was resisted seriously at Corydon, and a large force of Federals under General Hobson pressed hard after him as he made his way in a circuit through the southeastern part of the State. He crossed the Ohio line at the town of Harrison and passed to the north of Cincinnati. By this time, however, State troops began to swarm around the raiders, and the latter attempted to regain the Ohio River. There they were confronted by gunboats and turned back. The forces of Morgan melted away under pressure and constant fighting, until he came to the town of New Lisbon, Ohio, where he was surrounded and captured by the brigade of General Shackelford. The Confederate leader was imprisoned in the Ohio penitentiary; but he succeeded in making his escape from that place, fled to Kentucky, and finally reached Richmond.

In the meantime minor but important operations had been carried forward along the seacoast. On the first day of 1863 General Marmaduke captured Galveston, Texas, thus securing for the Confederate States a much-needed port of entry. On the 7th of April Admiral Dupont, with a fleet of ironclads and monitors, made a descent on Charleston, but was driven back from the city. In the latter part of June the effort was renewed in conjunction with a land force under command of General Q. A. Gilmore. The Federal army gained a lodgment on Folly and Morris Islands, where batteries were planted bearing on Forts Sumter and Wagner. On the 18th of July an assault was made on Fort

Wagner, but the Federals were repulsed with a loss of more than fifteen hundred men. Early in September the Confederates evacuated Wagner and Battery Gregg, whence they retired into Charleston. Gilmore, acting in conjunction with Admiral Dahlgren, was able to plant batteries within four miles of the city. The lower part of Charleston was bombarded and one side of Fort Sumter pounded into powder. The fort, however, could not be taken, and the only present gain to the Federals was the establishment of a blockade so complete as to seal up the port of Charleston.

During this interval the Army of the Potomac had had its share of vicissitude and battle. After the repulse at Fredericksburg, General Burnside resigned the command, and was superseded by General Joseph Hooker. The latter advanced in the after part of April, crossed the Rappahannock and the Rapidan and reached Chancellorsville. Here, on the evening of the 2d of May, he was attacked by the Army of Northern Virginia, under command of Lee and Jackson. The latter general, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, succeeded by extraordinary daring in outflanking the Union army, and swept down like a thunder-blast upon the right wing, dashing everything to destruction as he came. But it was the last of Stonewall's battles. As night came on and ruin seemed to impend over the Federal army, the Confederate leader, in the confusion of the scene, received a volley from his own lines, and fell mortally wounded. He lingered a week, and died at Guinea Station, leaving a gap in the Confederate ranks never to be filled.

The Union right wing was rallied and restored. On the morning of the 3d the Confederates were checked in their career of victory. General Sedgwick, who had attempted to reinforce Hooker at Fredericksburg, was attacked and driven across the Rappahannock. The Union army was forced into a comparatively small space between Chancellors-

ville and the river, where it remained in the utmost peril until the evening of the 5th, when Hooker succeeded in withdrawing his forces to the northern bank. The Union losses amounted to about seventeen thousand, while those of the Confederates were hardly five thousand in number. At no time during the war did the Union cause appear to a greater disadvantage in the East than after the disastrous battle of Chancellorsville.

It was at this period that General Stoneman conducted his successful cavalry raid into Virginia. His movement was coincident with that of Hooker to Chancellorsville. On the 29th of April, Stoneman, crossing the Rappahannock, tore up the Virginia Central railway and pushed ahead to the Chickahominy. He succeeded in cutting Lee's communications, swept around within a few miles of Richmond, and on the 8th of May recrossed the Rappahannock in safety. Another event serving to mitigate the Union disasters at Chancellorsville was the successful defense of Suffolk, on the Nansemond River, by General Peck against the siege conducted by General Longstreet.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

THE Confederates were greatly elated with their successes on the Rappahannock, and General Lee determined upon a counter-invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. In the first week of June he crossed the Potomac with his whole army and captured Hagerstown. On the 22d of the month he reached Chambersburg, and then pressed on through Carlisle, in the direction of Harrisburg. The invasion produced the greatest excitement. The militia of Pennsylvania was hurriedly called out, and volunteers by the thousand poured in from other States. General Hooker threw forward the Army of the Potomac to confront his antagonist. It became evident that a great and decisive battle was at hand.

General Lee concentrated his forces near the village of Gettysburg, capital of Adams County, Pennsylvania, and the Union army was likewise gathered on the highlands beyond the town. On the very eve of battle the command of the Federal forces was transferred from General Hooker to General George G. Meade—a dangerous experiment in the face of so overwhelming a contingency. Meade drew up his army through the hill-country in the direction of Gettysburg. After two years of indecisive though bloody warfare, it now seemed that the fate of the war, and possibly of the American republic, was to be staked on the issue of a single battle.

On the morning of the 1st of July the Union advance under Generals Reynolds and Beauford, moving out west-

ward from Gettysburg, encountered the Confederate division of General A. P. Hill coming upon the road from Hagerstown, and the struggle began. In the afternoon both divisions were strongly reinforced, and a severe battle was fought for the possession of Seminary Ridge. The Confederates were victorious, and the Union advance line was forced back from its position through the village to the high grounds on the south.

Such was the initial passage of the battle. The Federal lines were now drawn up in a convex position reaching from the eminence called Round Top, where the left wing rested, around the crest of the ridges to Cemetery Hill, where the center was posted. From this position the lines extended to Wolf Hill, on Rock Creek. The position was well chosen and strong, and the whole Union army, with the exception of Sedgwick's corps, was brought forward into position during the night of the 1st. The Confederate forces were likewise thrown into advantageous lines on Seminary Ridge, and on the high grounds to the left of Rock Creek. The semicircle was about five miles in extent. The cavalry divisions, both Federal and Confederate, hung upon the flanks of the respective armies, doing effective service, but hardly participating in the main conflicts of the center.

With the morning of July 2d the battle was begun by General Longstreet, who commanded the Confederate right. That officer moved forward with impetuosity and fell upon the Union left under General Sickles. The struggle for the possession of Great and Little Round Tops was terrific and lasted until six o'clock in the evening. The close of the day found those strong positions still in the hands of the Federals; but the fighting on the whole had been favorable to the Confederates. In the center, meanwhile, a battle had been fought for the greater part of the day, the contention being for the mastery of Cemetery Hill, which was the key

to the Federal position. In this part of the field the national line, though hard pressed by the Confederates, preserved its integrity until nightfall. On the Union right the Confederate onset was more successful, and that wing of the army commanded by General Slocum was to a considerable extent broken by the assaults of A. P. Hill. Atten o'clock at night, however, when the fighting ceased, it was found that the two armies held virtually the same position as at the beginning of the battle—this, notwithstanding the fact that nearly forty thousand Union and Confederate dead and wounded already bore evidence of the portentous character of the conflict.

The national forces were now on the defensive. The Confederates in order to succeed must advance. Otherwise the invasion would end in defeat and disaster. The Confederate army must break through the opposing wall or be hurled back from the assault. Lee did not flinch from the great exigency before him. During the night both generals prepared for a renewal of the battle on the morrow. With the coming of morning, however, both seemed loath to begin. Doubtless both were well aware of the critical nature of the conflict. The whole nation, indeed, realized on the morning of the 3d of July that the crisis of the Civil War had been reached, and that perhaps before sunset the issue would be decided for or against the American Union.

The forenoon of that tremendous day was spent in preparations. There was small and desultory fighting here and there, but nothing decisive. At midday there was a lull along the whole line. Then burst forth the fiercest cannonade ever known on the American continent. For about two hours the hills and surrounding country were shaken with the thunders of more than two hundred heavy guns. The Confederate artillery was concentrated against the Union center at Cemetery Hill, and this place became a

scene of indescribable uproar and death. About two o'clock the Union batteries, under the direction of General Hunt, drew back beyond the crest in order to cool the guns and also for economy of ammunition. The slackening of the fire was construed by the Confederates as signifying that their cannonade had been successful. Then came the crisis. The roar of the great guns in a measure ceased. A Confederate column numbering eighteen thousand men and about three-fourths of a mile in length, headed by the Virginians under Pickett, moved forward in a desperate charge against the Union center.

The scene that ensued was doubtless the most heroic as it was the finest military spectacle ever witnessed west of the Atlantic; but the onset was in vain. The brave men who made it were mowed down with terrible slaughter. The head of the Confederate column succeeded in striking the Union line; but there it sank to the earth. Then the whole division was hurled back in ruin and rout. Victory hovered over the national army, and it only remained for Lee with his broken legions to turn back towards the Potomac.

The losses on both sides were prodigious. That of the Confederates—though never formally reported—was nearly thirty thousand. The Federals lost in killed, wounded and missing twenty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-six, making a total of *more than fifty thousand men!* It was strongly hoped by the government that when the Confederates were driven back in retreat General Meade would be able by a counter-attack to spring upon and destroy the forces of his antagonist before they could recross the river; but the condition of the Union army was so dreadful that the desired movement could not be undertaken. General Lee withdrew his forces into Virginia, and the Federals soon took up their old positions on the Potomac and the Rappahannock.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming success of the Union cause at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the national administration was pressed with mountains of difficulty. The war debt was piling up to infinity. As a matter of fact, the war must soon end or national bankruptcy ensue. The last call for volunteers had not been fully met, and there were those in the North who, on account of political animosity, rejoiced in the embarrassments of the government and threw obstacles in the way of its success. The anti-war party, becoming bold and open, denounced the measures of Congress and the military conduct of the war. On the 3d of March, 1863, the Conscription Act was passed by Congress, and two months afterwards the President ordered a general draft of three hundred thousand men. All able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five were subjected to the requisition.

This Conscription Act added fuel to the fires of opposition. The government was bitterly denounced. In many parts of the Border States the draft-officers were resisted. On the 13th of July, notwithstanding the recent successes of the Union armies and the prospective end of the war, a serious riot occurred in New York City. A vast mob rose in arms, attacked the offices of the provost-marshals, burned the Colored Orphan Asylum, drove back the police and killed about a hundred people, most of whom were negroes. For three days the mob had virtual possession of the city. Governor Seymour came down from Albany and made to the rioters a mild-mannered speech, promising that the draft should be suspended and advising the crowds to disperse. Little heed was given to this soft-toned admonition, and General Wool, commander of the military district of New York, was obliged to take the matter in hand. Even he, with the forces at his disposal, was not able at first to put down the insurrection. At this juncture, however, some

volunteer regiments came trooping home from Gettysburg. The Metropolitan police was organized for the assault and the insurgents were scattered with a strong hand. The story of Vicksburg and Gettysburg threw a damper over these riotous proceedings and acts of domestic violence ceased. Opposition to the war, however, was still rampant in many parts of the North, and on the 19th of August, 1863, President Lincoln was constrained to issue a proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* throughout the Union.

The sequel showed the ineffectiveness of the conscription as a method of filling the Union armies. Only about fifty thousand men were added to the national forces by the draft. In other respects, however, the measure was salutary. It was seen that the government would not hesitate, in the last resort, to draw upon the human resources of the country by force. Volunteering and the employment of substitutes became the order of the day, and the ranks of the Union army were constantly strengthened by new recruits. Such, however, were the terrible losses in camp and field that in October of 1863 the President found it necessary to issue another call for three hundred thousand men. By these active measures the Federal army was not only maintained in its integrity, but constantly increased in volume and effectiveness.

It now became apparent that the Confederacy was weakening. With the approach of winter the disparity between the Federal and the Confederate forces began to be apparent to the whole world. The armies of the South already showed symptoms of exhaustion; and the most rigorous conscription was necessary to fill the thinning and breaking ranks. It was on the 20th of June of this year that West Virginia, separated from the Old Dominion, was organized and admitted as the thirty-fifth State in the Union.

## CHAPTER XXX.

THE Union generals waited anxiously for the spring of 1864. Military operations with the opening of the season were first begun in the West. Early in February General Sherman left Vicksburg with the purpose of destroying the railways of eastern Mississippi. He advanced to Meridian, where, on the 15th of the month, he began the destruction of the tracks from Mobile to Corinth, and from Vicksburg to Montgomery. This work was carried on with fearful rapidity for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles. Bridges were burned, locomotives and cars destroyed and vast quantities of cotton and corn given to the flames. Sherman had expected to be joined at Meridian by a Federal cavalry force under General Smith, but the latter officer was met on the advance by the Confederate cavalry under Forrest and was driven back to Memphis. Sherman, disappointed by this failure, returned to Vicksburg, while Forrest continued his raid northward into Tennessee. On the 24th of March he captured Union City, and then pressed on to Paducah, Kentucky, where he attacked Fort Anderson, but was repulsed. Turning back into Tennessee, he assaulted Fort Pillow, seventy miles north of Memphis. The place was defended by five hundred and sixty soldiers, about half of whom were negroes. Forrest, demanding a surrender and being refused, carried the fort by storm, and nearly all the negro soldiers were slain.

To the spring of 1864 belongs the story of the Red River Expedition of General Banks. The plan of this campaign embraced the movement of a strong land force up Red

River, supported by a fleet under Admiral Porter. The object was the capture of Shreveport, Louisiana. The Federal army advanced in three divisions, under Generals Smith, Banks and Steele. On the 14th of March Smith's division reached Fort de Russy, which was taken by assault. On the 16th Alexandria was occupied by the Federals, and on the 19th Natchitoches was captured. At this point the road departed from the river, and the army and the gun-boats were separated. The fleet proceeded up the stream towards Shreveport and the land forces whirled off in a circuit to the left.

On the 8th of April the Union advance approaching the town of Mansfield was suddenly attacked by the Confederates in full force. The Federals were completely routed and were pursued as far as Pleasant Hill. Here a second battle was fought, in which the hard fighting of the division of General Smith saved the army from complete rout. Nearly three thousand men, twenty pieces of artillery and the supply train of the Federals were lost in these disastrous battles.

Meanwhile the Confederates planted batteries on the banks of Red River to prevent the return of the fleet. When the flotilla dropped down as far as Alexandria no further progress could be made on account of the low stage of the river. The gunboats could not pass the rapids. In this emergency Colonel Bailey, of Wisconsin, constructed a dam across the river, raising the water so that the vessels could be floated over. The whole expedition broke to pieces and the fragments rolled back into the Mississippi. General Steele, hearing the news on his advance from Little Rock, withdrew in safety to his station. The whole campaign appears to have been marked with misfortune, folly and incompetency of management. General Banks was relieved of his command and superseded by General Canby.

The Civil War had now developed its own leaders. First and greatest of these on the Union side was General Ulysses S. Grant. By degrees, and through every kind of hardship and contumely, that silent and self-possessed commander had emerged from the obscurity which surrounded him at the beginning of the conflict, and now stood forth in unequaled modesty as the leading figure of the time. After Vicksburg and Chattanooga nothing could stay his progress to the command-in-chief. Congress responded to the spirit of the country by reviving the high grade of *lieutenant-general* and conferring it on Grant. This brought with it the appointment by the President on the 2d of March, 1864, to the command-in-chief of the land and naval forces of the United States. No fewer than seven hundred thousand Union soldiers were now to move at Grant's command. He took leave of his Western armies and repaired to Washington City, where he received his commission at the hands of the President.

On the Confederate side Robert E. Lee, the idol of his people, achieved distinction for his great military genius, which enabled him to hold out nearly four years against a vastly superior force, and not infrequently to gain victories in the face of extraordinary disadvantages. Contemporary history, that cannot be wholly impartial, places Lee below Grant as a general, but prejudices are passing rapidly, and the estimate now made gives to him a position that is sufficiently lofty, for he was greatest of the Confederacy, and the Confederacy was extinguished in amalgamation with the restored Union. The nation therefore may, in the reconciliation of sections, pronounce Grant and Lee the greatest generals of the Civil War, without disparity to either.

Now it was that the grand strategy of the war began to appear. Two great campaigns were planned for the year. The Army of the Potomac, under immediate command of

Meade and the general-in-chief, was to advance on Richmond, still defended by the Army of Northern Virginia, under Lee. General Sherman commanding the army at Chattanooga, numbering a hundred thousand men, was to march against Atlanta, which was defended by the Confederates under General Johnston. To these two great movements all other military operations were subordinated. Grant sent his orders to Sherman for the grand beginning which was destined to end the war, and the 1st of May, 1864, was fixed as the date of the advance.

Promptly on the 7th of that month General Sherman moved out of Chattanooga. At Dalton he was met by Johnston with a Confederate army sixty thousand strong. Sherman by maneuvering and fighting succeeded in turning the Confederate flank and obliged his antagonist to fall back to Resaca. At this place on the 14th and 15th of May two hard battles were fought in which the Union army was victorious. The Confederates retreated by way of Calhoun and Kingston to Dallas. At the latter place Johnston made a second stand. On the 28th of May he was attacked, outnumbered, outflanked and compelled to fall back to Lost Mountain. From this position he was forced in like manner, on the 17th of June, after three days of desultory fighting.

Johnston made his next stand at Great and Little Kenesaw Mountains. Here a line was formed, and on the 22d of June General Hood fiercely assaulted the Union center, but was repulsed with heavy losses. Five days afterwards Sherman made an assault with great audacity and attempted to carry Kenesaw by storm, but he was hurled back with a loss of nearly three thousand men. The Union commander, however, at once resumed his former tactics, outflanked his antagonist and on the 3d of July drove him across the Chattahoochee. A week later the whole Con-

federate army was crowded back within the defenses of Atlanta.

Then followed the siege of that city. Atlanta was, after Richmond, the most important seat of power within the limits of the Confederacy. Here were located the machine shops, foundries, car works and depots of supplies upon the possession of which the Confederate cause so much depended. The government at Richmond now became deeply dissatisfied with the military policy of General Joseph E. Johnston. That cautious and skillful commander had adopted the Fabian policy of falling back before the superior forces of Sherman and of conserving as much as possible the energies of his army. This method, however, displeased President Davis, and when the siege of Atlanta was begun Johnston was deposed from command and was succeeded by the rash but daring General J. B. Hood. The opinion prevailed that the latter would fight at whatever hazard, and this view of his military character was borne out by the facts. On the 20th, 22d and 28th of July he made three successive and desperate assaults on the Union lines around Atlanta; but in each engagement the Confederates were repulsed with dreadful losses. It was in the beginning of the second of these battles that the brave General James B. McPherson, the bosom friend of Generals Grant and Sherman and the pride of the Union army, was killed while reconnoitering the Confederate lines. In the three battles just referred to Hood lost more men than Johnston had lost in all his masterly retreating and fighting between Chattanooga and Atlanta.

Around the latter city Sherman daily tightened his grip. At last by an incautious movement Hood opened his line; the Union commander thrust a column into the gap, and the immediate evacuation of Atlanta followed. On the 2d of September the city was occupied by Sherman's army.

The campaign from Chattanooga up to this point of progress had cost the Federals in killed, wounded and missing fully thirty thousand men, and the Confederate losses were even greater.

By abandoning Atlanta Hood saved his army. He formed the plan of striking boldly northward into Tennessee, with the hope of compelling Sherman to evacuate Georgia ; but the latter had no thought of relinquishing his ground ; he followed Hood north of the Chattahoochee, and then turned back to Atlanta. The Confederate commander continued his march through northern Alabama, reached Florence, on the Tennessee, and pressed on towards Nashville. General Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, had in the meantime been detached from Sherman's army and sent northward to confront Hood. General Schofield with the Federal forces in Tennessee fell back before the Confederates and took post at Franklin, eighteen miles distant from Nashville. Hood pressed on, and on the 30th of November attacked the Federal position. A hard battle was fought, and the Confederates were held in check until Schofield succeeded during the night in crossing the river and making himself secure within the defenses of Nashville. At that place General Thomas also concentrated his forces and a line of intrenchments was drawn around the city on the south.

Hood came on confident of victory. He began a siege by blockading the Cumberland, and there was general alarm through the North lest Thomas might be pressed to the wall. That commander, however, on the 15th of December, moved out from his works, attacked the Confederate army and routed it with a loss, in killed, wounded and prisoners, of fully twenty-five thousand men ! For many days of freezing weather he pursued the disorganized Confederate forces, until the remnants found refuge in Alabama.

Hood's division of the Confederate forces was ruined, and he himself, with the misfortune of unsuccess, was relieved of his command.

Meanwhile, on the 14th of November, General Sherman burned Atlanta and set out on his famous march to the sea. His army of veterans numbered sixty thousand men. The advance was begun with confidence, for Sherman expected the destruction of Hood's army in Tennessee. It was clear that the Confederates had no adequate force with which to oppose him in front. He accordingly cut his communications with the North, abandoned his base of supplies, and struck out for the seacoast, more than two hundred and fifty miles away. On leaving Atlanta, he was lost to sight in the forests of Georgia, but was followed by the unwavering faith of General Grant and of the people of the North.

The Confederates were able to offer no further successful resistance. The Union army swept on through Macon and Milledgeville, crossed the Ogeechee, captured Gibson and Waynesborough, and on the 10th of December arrived in the vicinity of Savannah. Three days afterwards Fort McAlister, below that city, was carried by the division of General Hazen. On the night of the 20th General Hardee, the Confederate commandant, escaped from Savannah, and with fifteen thousand men made his way to Charleston. On the next morning Sherman entered the city, and on the 22d established there his headquarters. His total losses from Atlanta to the coast had been but five hundred and sixty-seven men. The Union army remained in Savannah during the month of January, 1865. On the 1st of February General Sherman began his campaign against Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. To the Confederates the further progress of the Union army through the swamps and morsasses of the State had seemed an impossibility; but the

veteran legions were now thoroughly hardened to all forms of exposure and trial, and their progress was little impeded. Alarm and terror pervaded the country. Governor Magrath summoned into the field every white man in the State between the ages of sixteen and sixty; but the requisition was comparatively ineffectual. The Confederates formed a line of defense on the Salkehatchie, but were unable to prevent Sherman's progress. The river was crossed by the Federals on the 11th of February, and Charleston and Augusta were cut off from Confederate support. On the 12th the city of Orangeburg was taken by the seventeenth corps. Two days afterwards the Federal army crossed the Congaree, on the high road to Columbia. Then followed the passage of the Broad and Saluda Rivers. On the 17th Mayor Goodwin and a committee of the Common Council of Columbia came out and surrendered the city.

Hereupon General Hardee determined to abandon Charleston and to join Beauregard and Johnston in North Carolina. On the day of the capture of Columbia he detailed guards to destroy the warehouses, stores of cotton and depots of the city. The station of the Northwestern railroad, where magazines were stored, blew up with terrific violence, and two hundred people were buried in the ruins. Four squares of the best part of the city were laid in ashes. Hardee, with fourteen thousand men, escaped and made his way northward. On the next morning the national forces on James and Morris Islands learned of the evacuation, and before noon the stars and stripes were again raised over Forts Sumter, Ripley and Pinckney. Mayor Macbeth surrendered Charleston to a force which was sent over from Morris Island. As much as might be saved from the conflagration was rescued by citizens and Federal soldiers working together. The principal arsenal and a storehouse of rice were preserved and the contents of the latter distributed

to the poor. Colonel Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, was appointed military governor of the city.

At Columbia Sherman gave orders for the destruction of all public property and then immediately renewed his march northward. His course was now in the direction of Charlotte, North Carolina. The Federals swept on unopposed to Winnsborough, where a junction was effected with the twentieth corps under Slocum. The march was continued to Fayetteville, where Sherman arrived and took possession on the 11th of March.

In the meantime a dashing cavalry battle had occurred between the forces of Generals Hampton and Kilpatrick. The former officer had been directed to defend the rear of Hardee's column on its retreat from Charleston. In the first engagement Kilpatrick succeeded in cutting through the Confederate lines, but on the next morning he was in turn attacked in his quarters, routed and reduced to the straits of making his escape on foot into a swamp. He succeeded at length, however, in rallying his forces, returning to the conflict and scattering the Confederates in a brilliant charge. Hampton then rallied, but Kilpatrick was able to hold his ground until reinforced by a part of the twentieth corps, when the Confederates were finally repulsed. Kilpatrick reached Fayetteville without further attack and joined the other divisions of the army.

The destruction of Hood in Tennessee was the signal for a reaction in favor of General Joseph E. Johnston. That officer was recalled to the command. His influence now began to be felt in front of Sherman. The Union advance was rendered more difficult by the vigilance of the Confederate general. At Averasborough, a short distance north of Fayetteville, Hardee made a stand, but was repulsed with considerable loss. On the 19th of March Sherman's advance was furiously assailed by the Confederates at Ben-

tonville. For the hour it seemed that the Union army, after all its battles and victories, was in danger of defeat, but the brilliant fighting of the division of General Jefferson C. Davis saved the day, and on the twenty-first of the month Sherman entered Goldsborough unopposed. Here he was reinforced by the division of Schofield, from New Berne, and that of Terry, from Wilmington.

The Federal army now set out for Raleigh, and reached that city on the 13th of April. This was the end of the great march, and here General Sherman met his antagonist, and entered into negotiations for the surrender of the Confederate army. Lee had already surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. Sherman agreed with Johnston, most unfortunately, to discuss the terms of a general settlement of civil affairs in the South, but these negotiations were suddenly cut off by dispatches from the government at Washington and by the arrival of General Grant, who was directed to grant to Johnston the same terms already conceded to Lee. This was accordingly done, and the Confederate army was surrendered on the 26th of April.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

WHILE the decisive events described in the preceding chapter were taking place in Carolina the great cavalry raid of General Stoneman was in progress. About the middle of March that officer left Knoxville with six thousand men, crossed the mountains and captured Wilkesborough. He then crossed the Yadkin, and turning to the north traversed the western end of North Carolina. He entered Virginia, destroyed the railway at Wytheville, and as far as within four miles of Lynchburg. Christiansburg was captured, and other railway tracks destroyed for a distance of ninety miles. The expedition turned thence to Jacksonville; thence southward to the North Carolina railway between Danville and Greensborough. This track also was destroyed and the factories at Salem burned. Stoneman then captured Salisbury and the great Confederate prison for Federal soldiers, but the prisoners were removed before the arrival of the Union cavalry. On the 19th of April the great bridge of the South Carolina railway, spanning the Catawba River, was set on fire and destroyed. The Federals then concentrated at Dallas and the raid was at an end. Stoneman had taken during the campaign six thousand prisoners, forty-six pieces of artillery and immense quantities of small arms and munitions.

While the preceding events were transpiring, others of equal importance occurred on the seacoast. Early in August, 1864, Admiral David G. Farragut made a descent with a powerful squadron upon Mobile. The harbor of that

city was strongly defended by a Confederate fleet, by batteries on the shore, and by the monster ironclad ram *Tennessee*. On the 5th of August Farragut succeeded in running past Forts Gaines and Morgan. Once in the harbor with his fleet, he mounted to the maintop of his flagship, the *Hartford*, where he was lashed to the rigging. From this high perch he gave his commands during the battle. One Union ship struck a torpedo and went to the bottom. The rest attacked and dispersed the Confederate squadron, but in the midst of success the ram *Tennessee* came down at full speed to strike and sink the *Hartford*. Then followed one of the fiercest conflicts ever known at sea. The Union ironclads closed around their black antagonist and battered her with their beaks and fifteen-inch bolts of iron until she surrendered. The harbor was cleared. On the 7th of August Fort Gaines was taken and on the 23d Fort Morgan capitulated. Mobile was thus effectually sealed up to the Confederates.

Of like importance was the capture of Fort Fisher. This powerful fortress standing at the mouth of Cape Fear River commanded the entrance to Wilmington—the last seaport held by the Confederacy. In December, 1864, Admiral Porter was sent with the greatest American armament ever afloat to besiege and capture the fort. General Butler accompanied the expedition with a division of six thousand five hundred men. On the day before Christmas the bombardment of Fort Fisher was begun. General Weitzel was sent ashore to carry the place by storm, but coming near to the fort he decided that an assault could only end in the destruction of his army. This belief was shared by General Butler and the enterprise was abandoned. Admiral Porter, however, remained before the fort with his fleet, while the land forces under Butler returned to Fortress Monroe.

The result of the expedition was considered humiliating

by the national authority. Early in January of 1865 the same troops were sent back to Wilmington under General Terry. The siege was renewed by the combined army and fleet, and on the 15th of the month Fort Fisher was taken by assault. It was the last seaport of the Confederates, and their outlet to the ocean and foreign nations was thus forever closed.

In the meantime the control of Albemarle Sound had been recovered by a daring exploit of Lieutenant Cushing of the Federal navy. The Sound was held by a tremendous Confederate iron ram called the *Albemarle*. Cushing gathered a band of volunteers, and on the night of the 27th of October entered the Roanoke in a small boat and approached the ram lying at anchor at Plymouth. He managed to draw alongside, and with his own hands sank a terrible torpedo under the Confederate ship, exploded it and left the ram a ruin. All of the attacking party except Cushing and one other were either killed or taken in the adventure.

At the outbreak of the war the Confederate Congress authorized the fitting out of privateers to prey upon the commerce of the United States. True, the independence of the Confederacy was not acknowledged by foreign nations, and the Confederate cruisers were therefore not allowed to carry their prizes into neutral ports. The work of capture was thus of little direct benefit to the Confederacy, but of prodigious injury to the United States.

The first Confederate privateer was the *Savannah*; but this ship was captured on the very day of her escape from Charleston. In June of 1861 the *Sumter*, under command of Captain Raphael Semmes, ran the blockade of New Orleans, and for seven months wrought havoc with the merchant ships of the United States. In February of 1862 Semmes was chased into the harbor of Gibraltar and was

obliged to save himself by selling his vessel and discharging his crew. Meanwhile in October, 1861, the *Nashville* escaped from Charleston, went on a cruise to England, and returned with a cargo worth \$3,000,000. In March of 1863 this vessel was sunk by a Union ironclad in the mouth of the Savannah.

The Federal blockade soon closed around the Confederate ports. It became more and more difficult for privateers to break through and gain the freedom of the seas. The Confederates now sought the shipyards of Great Britain, and in spite of all remonstrances were permitted to use that vantage ground for the building, the purchase and equipment of privateers. In the harbor of Liverpool the *Florida* was fitted out. In the summer of 1862 this ship ran into Mobile Bay, and in the following January escaped therefrom to destroy fifteen Union merchantmen. She was finally captured in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, brought into Hampton Roads, and there by an accidental collision was sent to the bottom.

At the shipyards of Glasgow were built the *Georgia*, the *Olustee*, the *Shenandoah* and the *Chickamauga*. All these went to sea and made havoc with the commerce of the United States. When Fort Fisher was taken the *Chickamauga* and another privateer called the *Tallahassee* were blown up by the Confederates. The *Georgia* had already been captured, and the *Shenandoah* continued afloat until the end of the war.

The most famous and destructive of all Confederate cruisers was the *Alabama*. Her commander was Raphael Semmes, who had lost the *Sumter* at Gibraltar. A majority of the crew of the *Alabama* were British subjects. Her armament was wholly British, and whenever the occasion required the British flag was carried! During her career she destroyed sixty-six vessels, entailing a loss of ten mil-

lions of dollars to the merchant service of the United States ; but she never once entered a Confederate port. The difference between such work and piracy would be far to seek.

In the summer of 1864 Semmes was followed to the harbor of Cherbourg, France, by Captain John A. Winslow, of the steamer *Kearsarge*. Semmes was soon ordered by the French government to leave the port. On the 19th of June he sailed out and gave battle. Seven miles from shore the two ships closed, and after a desperate battle of an hour's duration the *Alabama* was shattered and sunk. Semmes and a part of his officers and crew were picked up by the English yacht *Greyhound*, which had come out to witness the fight, and carried to Southampton, where they were set at liberty !

## CHAPTER XXXII.

WE now turn to the critical and final campaigns of the Army of the Potomac and of those divisions of the Union forces which were associated with it. After Gettysburg, Lee withdrew into the Shenandoah Valley, whither he was followed by the Union cavalry under General Gregg as far as Shepherdstown, where an advantage was gained over General Fitzhugh Lee with the cavalry of the Confederates. General Meade with the Army of the Potomac entered Virginia and moved forward to Warrenton. The Blue Ridge was thus interposed between the two armies, and it was the hope of Meade to prevent the return of his antagonist to Richmond; but Lee with his usual sagacity made a feint towards Manassas Gap, and then by a rapid march gained Front Royal and Chester Gap, passed through and reached Culpeper. Meade took up his old position on the Rappahannock.

A lull now followed during the summer of 1863. Both armies were greatly weakened by battle and the withdrawal of troops for campaigns in distant parts. Longstreet was detached from Lee to assist Bragg, and Howard and Slocum were detached from the Army of the Potomac. Active operations were not resumed until October, when both generals assumed the offensive; but Meade was after much maneuvering obliged to post himself on the heights of Centerville. Lee rested on the upper Rappahannock. And so came the winter of 1864.

With the following spring General Grant became com-

mander-in-chief of the Union armies. He retained Meade in the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac, but made his own headquarters with that army during the remainder of the war. The campaign which was now to ensue was destined to be one of the most memorable of modern warfare. The forward movement of the Army of the Potomac was undertaken with the beginning of May. On the 3d of that month the national camp at Culpeper was broken up and the march on Richmond begun. On the first day Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered that country of oak woods and thickets called the Wilderness, lying west of Chancellorsville. Here the Union army was confronted and attacked. Through the 5th, 6th and 7th of May the fighting continued incessantly with terrible losses on both sides, but with indecisive results. Lee retired within his intrenchments and Grant made a flank movement in the direction of Spottsylvania Court-house. On the 8th there was a lull, but from the morning of the 9th to the night of the 12th ensued one of the bloodiest struggles of the war. The Federals gained some ground and the division of General Ewell was captured. But the losses of Lee, who fought on the defensive, were less dreadful than those of his antagonist.

While this struggle of the Wilderness was going on, General Sheridan with the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac had conducted a raid around Lee's army against Richmond. The movement was executed with all the audacity for which Sheridan had become famous. He crossed the North Anna, retook a large detachment of Union prisoners, and on the 10th of May, at Yellow Tavern, fought a victorious battle with the Confederate cavalry under General J. E. B. Stuart, who was mortally wounded on the field.

Grant now continued to move slowly by the left flank. He crossed the Pamunkey to Hanovertown and reached

Cold Harbor, twelve miles northeast of Richmond. Here on the 1st of June he attacked the Confederates, but was repulsed with heavy loss. On the morning of the 3d the assault was renewed, and in the brief space of half an hour nearly ten thousand Union soldiers were killed or wounded before the Confederate intrenchments. The Federal repulse was complete, but the grim commander held his lines as firmly as ever and continued the campaign.

Since the crossing of the Rapidan the Army of the Potomac, including the corps of Burnside, had now lost the enormous aggregate of sixty thousand men. During the same period the Confederates had lost in killed, wounded and prisoners about thirty-five thousand. Nevertheless, the fight was going against the Confederacy. The weight of the Union pressure was ever increased and the power of resistance was ever weakened. Grant was imperturbable. After his unsuccess at Cold Harbor he determined to change his base to James River, with a view to the capture of Petersburg and the subsequent conquest of Richmond from this direction.

In that part of the field General Butler had moved up with a strong division from Fortress Monroe. On the 5th of May that officer captured Bermuda Hundred and City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox. He then advanced in the direction of Petersburg, but was met on the 16th by the corps of General Beauregard and was driven back to Bermuda Hundred. There he intrenched himself and stood on the defensive. On the 15th of June General Grant effected a junction with Butler and again advanced against Petersburg. On the 17th and 18th the Confederate intrenchments about that city were several times assaulted, but could not be taken. Lee's army was hurried into the defenses and by the end of June Petersburg was invested.

Before moving from the Rapidan, General Grant had dis-

patched Sigel into the Shenandoah Valley with a division of eight thousand men. On the 15th of May that officer was met at New Market, fifty miles above Winchester, by the Confederate cavalry division of General Breckinridge. The Federals were routed and the command of the flying divisions was transferred to General Hunter. Breckinridge returned to Richmond, whereupon Hunter again advancing up the valley, struck the Confederates at Piedmont and gained a signal victory. From this point he advanced with the cavalry of General Averill against Lynchburg, but in this adventure he got into such peril that he was obliged to retreat across the mountains into West Virginia.

General Lee was now able to send Early's command into the Shenandoah Valley with orders to press down to the Potomac, invade Maryland and threaten Washington City. The object of the campaign was to oblige Grant to loose his hold on Petersburg for the defense of the national capital. The situation indeed was sufficiently alarming. Early, with twenty thousand men, gained the Potomac, and on the 5th of July crossed into Maryland. On the 9th he was confronted by the division of General Lew Wallace, on the Monocacy; but the latter was able with the force at his command to do no more than hold the Confederates in check until Washington and Baltimore could be put into a more defensible condition. Early came *within gunshot* of both of these cities; but on the 12th of the month he fell back and recrossed the Potomac.

The Union command on the Shenandoah was now transferred from Hunter to Wright. The latter pursued Early as far as Winchester, where on the 24th of July he fought with him a successful engagement. But Early turned upon his antagonist, and the Union troops were driven back across the Potomac. Following up his advantage, the Confederate leader pressed on into Pennsylvania, burned Cham-

bersburg and returned into Virginia with vast quantities of plunder.

General Grant was greatly vexed by these successful raids of the Confederates. In the beginning of August he consolidated the Union divisions in the Shenandoah Valley and on the upper Potomac into a single army, and gave the command to General Philip H. Sheridan. It was the destiny of this young and brilliant officer to rise above the chaos in the concluding scenes of the war and to contribute much by his daring and genius to the final success of the Union cause.

On the 19th of September Sheridan with an army of about forty thousand men came upon Early at Winchester. A hard battle ensued in which the Confederates were decisively defeated. The Union general followed his antagonist, and on the 22d of the month again routed him at Fisher's Hill. Then came one of the saddest episodes of the war in which the fruitful Shenandoah Valley was, as a military measure, laid waste and ravaged. Grant ordered Sherman to spare nothing from destruction that might any longer furnish the means of subsistence to the enemy. The ruinous work was fearfully well done and little was left worth fighting for between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies.

Early, maddened by this destruction and stung by his defeats, rallied his forces, gathered reinforcements and returned into the desolated valley. Sheridan at this juncture, having posted his army on Cedar Creek and feeling secure in the situation, went to Washington. Early seized the opportunity, and on the 19th of October surprised the Union camp, captured most of the artillery and sent the army in rout and confusion toward Winchester. The pursuit was continued as far as Middletown. The Confederates, believing themselves completely triumphant, paused to eat and rest. On the previous night, however, Sheridan returning from Washing-

ton reached Winchester, and at the time of the rout of his army was on his way to the front. While riding forward he heard the sound of battle, spurred on for twelve miles at full speed, met the panic-struck fugitives, rallied them at his call, turned upon the Confederates and gained one of the most signal victories of the war. Early's army was disorganized and ruined. It was the end of strife in the valley of the Shenandoah.

Grant, having thus cleared the horizon of Virginia, and being confident of the success of Sherman's expedition to the sea, now sat grimly down to the investment of Petersburg. All fall and winter long he pressed the siege with varying success. As early as the 30th of July, 1864, an attempt was made to carry the Confederate defenses by assault. A mine was exploded under one of the forts, and a column sprang forward at full charge to gain the lines of Petersburg; but the attack failed, and that with serious losses. On the 18th of August a division of the Union army succeeded in seizing the Weldon railroad. The Confederates made several courageous assaults to regain their lost ground, but were beaten back with losses of thousands on both sides. On the 26th of September the Federals carried Battery Harrison, on the right bank of the James, and on the next day Paine's brigade of colored soldiers carried a strong Confederate position at Spring Hill. On the 27th of October a bloody battle was fought on the Boydton road, south of Petersburg.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

BOTH armies rested for the winter after the battle near Petersburg. Not until the 27th of February, 1865, was the struggle renewed. On that day General Sheridan attacked the forces of Early at Waynesborough, defeated them, and then joined the commander-in-chief at Petersburg. During March, General Grant pressed the siege of that important position, gathered strong reinforcements, and waited impatiently for the opening of spring. On the 1st of April the campaign began with a severe battle at Five Forks, on the Southside railroad—an engagement in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of six thousand prisoners. On the next day Grant ordered an assault along the whole line in front of Petersburg, and the Confederate works were carried. The rim of iron and valor which Lee had so long maintained around the Confederate capital was shattered by this tremendous blow. On that night he with his army and the members of the Confederate government fled from Richmond, and on the next morning that city, together with Petersburg, was entered by the Federal army. The warehouses of the ill-fated capital were fired by the retreating Confederates, and the better part of the Southern metropolis was reduced to ruins.

The final catastrophe of the Confederate cause was now not far away. All men perceived that the struggle could last but a few days longer. General Lee retreated as rapidly as possible to the southwest, in the hope of effecting a junction with the army of General Johnston, on its emergence from

Carolina ; but that army was destined never to emerge. The Confederates from Petersburg and Richmond joined each other at Amelia Court-house, whither Lee had ordered his supply trains to be stationed. The officer having this duty in charge, however, foolishly mistook his orders and drove the train in the direction of Danville. Nearly one-half of the Confederate army had to be dispersed through the country to gather supplies by foraging. The 4th and 5th of April, days most precious to the sinking heart of Lee, were consumed with this delay. The heavy Federal columns pressed on in full and close pursuit. On the morning of the 6th of April the greater part of the Union army was at Jettersville, on the Danville railroad, ready to strike the Confederates at Amelia. Sheridan was on the extreme left flank, and pressing forward in the direction of Deatonsville. Ord came up with his division by way of the South-side railroad to Burke's Station. Lee fell back to the west from Amelia Court-house, and reached Deatonsville. Here, however, he found the vigilant Sheridan planted squarely in his course. The division of Ewell, six thousand strong, was flung against the Federal position, but was broken to pieces and captured in the charge.

General Lee still hoped to make a detour to the west and south around the Federal left. By strenuous exertions he succeeded in gaining the Appomattox, at Farmville, crossed to the other side and burned the bridges. He thus sought to interpose a considerable stream between himself and his pursuers ; but the effort was in vain. Lee next made a desperate effort to hold the Lynchburg railroad ; but Sheridan was there before him. On the 7th of April the Confederates had their last slight success. But all hope of victory, or even escape, was soon blown out in despair. On that day, Grant, from Farmville, addressed a note to the Confederate commander, expressing a desire that further

sacrifice of life and waste of war might be avoided by a surrender. To this Lee replied declaring his desire for peace, but adding that the occasion for the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia had not arrived.

On the 8th of April the process of surrounding the Confederate army went vigorously forward. On the morning of the 9th, when it became known that the left wing of the Union army had secured the line of the Lynchburg railroad —when the wrecks of Longstreet's veterans covering the retreat were confronted and driven back by Sheridan, the soul of the brave Confederate leader failed him. Seeing the utter uselessness of a further struggle, he sent to General Grant a note asking for a meeting preliminary to a surrender.

The Union commander immediately complied with the request. At two o'clock on the afternoon of that day, Palm Sunday, April 9th, 1865, the two generals—two of the greatest of modern times—met each other in the parlor of William McLean, at Appomattox Court-house. There the terms of surrender were agreed upon. General Grant put his proposition in the form of a military note, to which General Lee returned a formal answer. The note of the Union commander was as follows:

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA., April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL,—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such other officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked, turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the sidearms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by

United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside.

"U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*"

To this memorandum General Lee responded as follows :

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL.—I received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"R. E. LEE, *General.*"

After the capitulation of Lee's army a general collapse rapidly followed throughout the States in secession. The destruction of the military power signified the overthrow of the government and the ultimate obliteration of all that had been done against the national authority. The surrender of Johnston to Sherman followed on the 26th of April. In the overthrow of their two great armies all reasonable Confederates foresaw the end. After four dreadful years of bloodshed, devastation and sorrow, the Civil War had ended with the complete triumph of the Union cause.

It now remained to re-establish the Federal authority over the Southern States. On the part of the Confederates there was no serious effort to prolong resistance. Lee bade adieu to his army and retired with shattered fortunes to private life. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet made their escape from Richmond to Danville, and there for a few days kept up a form of government. They then fled into North Carolina and were scattered. The ex-President, with a few friends, made his way into Georgia, where he was captured near the village of Irwinville, on the 10th of May, by a part of the command of General Wilson. Mr. Davis was at once taken as a captive to Fortress Monroe, and was kept in confinement for two years. He was then removed to Richmond, to be tried on a charge of treason, but the cause re-

mained untried for about a year and a half, and was then dismissed from court. It thus happened that the legal status of that error, which the Confederate leaders had committed, was never established in American jurisprudence, but left rather to dangle contentiously in the political sky of aftertimes.

In the autumn preceding the downfall of the Confederacy Lincoln had been rechosen President for a second term. As Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was elected in place of Hannibal Hamlin. The opposing Democratic candidates were General George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. The partisan fires were rekindled on every hilltop, and the North became a scene of turmoil. The Democratic leaders were rampant in their denunciation of the methods upon which the war was conducted and the war itself. In the National Convention of that party at Chicago a resolution was adopted declaring the war a failure and demanding a cessation of hostilities until a peaceable solution of the trouble might be reached.

The effort to defeat Lincoln, however, could end only in confusion and failure. His majority was very heavy. Only the States of Kentucky, Delaware and New Jersey gave their electoral votes to McClellan. Meanwhile the people of Nevada had in accordance with an act of Congress prepared a State constitution, and on the 31st of October, 1864, that Territory was admitted as the thirty-sixth member of the Union.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

GREAT were the financial embarrassments of the government during the progress of the Civil War. The organization of the army and navy entailed enormous expenses which had to be met at a time when the credit of the United States had sunk to the lowest ebb. The price of silver and gold rose so rapidly that the redemption of bank-notes in coin soon became impossible. On the 30th of December, 1861, the banks of New York suspended specie payment, and this action was soon followed by all the banks of the country. The premium on gold and silver rose to such a figure that the transaction of public and private business on a basis of coin was no longer possible.

At this time Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury. To his genius in large measure were due the various expedients which were adopted to uphold the national credit, and which were destined in the future to enter into not only the industrial conditions, but also the political issues of the United States. Old things passed rapidly away. As a temporary expedient the Secretary of the Treasury first sought relief by issuing TREASURY NOTES receivable as money and bearing interest at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent. The expedient was successful, but the expenses of the government rose higher and higher, until by the beginning of 1862 more than a million of dollars daily was required to meet the outlay.

Congress, on the recommendation of Secretary Chase, now made haste to provide an INTERNAL REVENUE. This

was made up from two general sources: first, *a tax* on manufactures, incomes and salaries; and second, *a stamp duty* on all legal documents. The next step in the financial evolution was the issuing by the Treasury of a hundred and fifty millions of dollars in non-interest-bearing **LEGAL TENDER NOTES** of the United States to be used as money. Such was the beginning of that famous currency which under the name of *Greenbacks* sustained the nation during the war, survived the shocks of the epoch and continued for a long time after the subsidence of the conflict to constitute one-half of the paper money used by the people of the United States.

But the greenback currency, issued again and again as the emergencies multiplied, was not of itself sufficient. A third great measure recommended by the Secretary provided for the issuance and sale of **UNITED STATES BONDS**. The first series of these, redeemable at any time after five years and under twenty years from date, was called the **FIVE-TWENTY BONDS**. The interest upon them was fixed at six per cent., payable semi-annually in gold. The event showed that the clause making the interest payable in gold rather than in the greenback currency tended to aggravate the disparity in the value of coin and paper money. The second series, called the **TEN-FORTIES**, was next issued, being redeemable at any time after ten and under forty years from date. The interest on this series was fixed at five per cent., and both principal and interest were made payable *in coin*. Then came at a later period the issue of the **FOUR PERCENTS**, and finally of the **THREE AND A HALF PERCENTS** and **THREE PERCENTS**, into which the higher-priced bonds were for the most part converted.

The old banks of the United States soon disappeared. It seemed necessary that the place of local banking institutions should be taken by something else of like character. An

act was accordingly passed for the establishment of NATIONAL BANKS. The constitution of these was peculiar in the last degree. The new banks were born out of the exigency of the times and their anomalous character must be explained from the existing conditions. The National Bank Act of May, 1862, provided that the new banks might use national bonds as the basis of their currency instead of gold and silver. Each bank must purchase and deposit with the Treasurer of the United States the requisite amount of bonds and receive thereon ninety per cent. of the valuation of the bonds deposited in a NATIONAL CURRENCY, such currency to bear the name of the particular bank from which issued, but otherwise to be of a common type for the whole country.

The new banks were rapidly organized in all the States under national authority. In a short time a mixed currency, composed about half and half of greenbacks and national bank bills, took the place of the old local paper money which had formerly constituted the bulk of the currency. Gold and silver soon disappeared from sight. All financial transactions swam henceforth for about seventeen years in an ocean of self-sustaining paper money. The precious metals became mere merchandise; but their fictitious connection with the national currency constituted a dangerous element of monetary speculation which the financial jobbers of the country were not slow to discover and use with fatal effect. The currency of the national banks was furnished and the redemption of the same guaranteed by the Treasury of the United States. By the various measures above described the means for prosecuting the Civil War were provided. At the end of the conflict the national debt proper had reached the astounding sum of nearly three thousand millions of dollars, and to this prodigious—almost incalculable—aggregate the exigencies of the war were add-

ing more than two millions daily ! Had the war continued another year national bankruptcy must have ensued.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term. The brief address which he delivered on the occasion was one of the most remarkable ever produced by a great man in a trying ordeal. He sought by sympathetic utterances to call back to loyalty the infatuated people of the Southern States, exhorting his countrymen, "with malice towards none, with charity for all," to go about the work of healing the nation's wounds and restoring political and social fellowship throughout the Union.

At the time of his second inauguration the great Confederacy was in the throes of dissolution. Within a month the military power of that government was broken. Three days after the evacuation of Richmond by Lee's army the President visited that city, conferred with the authorities and then returned to Washington ; but in the strange vicissitude of things the tragedy of his own sad life had already entered its last act. On the evening of the 14th of April he attended Fort's Theater with Mrs. Lincoln and a party of friends. As the play drew near its close a disreputable actor, named John Wilkes Booth, stole, unnoticed, into the President's box, leveled a pistol at his head from behind and shot him through the brain. Lincoln fell forward in his seat, was borne unconscious from the building, lingered until the following morning and died. It was the greatest personal tragedy of modern times—the most atrocious and awful murder of history. The assassin leaped out of the box upon the stage, escaped into the darkness, mounted a waiting horse and fled across the Long Bridge of the Potomac into Virginia.

It was immediately perceived that a murderous conspiracy was on foot to destroy the government by assassination, through no conniving, however, of any responsible leader of

the South. In the same hour of the shooting of Lincoln another murderer named Louis Payne Powell burst into the bed-chamber of Secretary Seward, who had recently been disabled by an accident, sprang upon the couch of the sick man, stabbed him nigh unto death and made his escape into the night. The city was thrown into the wildest alarm and excitement. The telegraph flashed the news throughout the land and a tremor of rage ran through all hearts. Troops of cavalry and the police of Washington departed in all directions to hunt down the conspirators. On the 26th of April Booth was found concealed in a barn south of Fredericksburg. He refused to surrender even when the barn was set on fire. The object was to drive him forth alive; but Sergeant Boston Corbett, gaining sight of the assassin through the wall of the building, shot him down and he was dragged forth to die. Powell was caught, convicted and hanged. The other conspirators—David E. Herrold and George A. Atzerott, together with Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, at whose house the plot was formed—were also condemned and executed. Michael O'Laughlin, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd and Samuel Arnold were condemned to imprisonment for life in the Dry Tortugas, and Edward Spangler for a term of six years.

Thus in darkness, but not in shame, ended the strange career of Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the most remarkable men of any age or country—a man in whom the qualities of genius and common sense were strangely mingled. He was prudent, far-sighted and resolute; thoughtful, calm and just; patient, tender-hearted and great. The manner of his death consecrated his memory. Thrown by murder from the high seat of power, he fell into the arms of the American people, who laid him down as tenderly as children lay their father on the couch of death. The funeral pageant was prepared on a scale never before equaled in the

New World. From city to city in one vast procession the people followed his remains to their last resting-place in Springfield. From all nations went up the cry of sympathy and shame—sympathy for his death, and shame for the dark crime that caused it.

It would appear that Lincoln fell in an inauspicious hour. The great Confederacy of the Southern States was tottering into oblivion; but the restoration of the Union remained to be effected. Who but Lincoln in such a crisis was fitted for such work? His temper, after the surrender of Lee, showed clearly the trend of his thoughts and sympathies—his sincere desire for peace, his love for his countrymen of all sections.

The man of Europe might well be surprised at the slight disturbance in governmental affairs produced by the assassination of Lincoln. The public credit was undisturbed. It was demonstrated that in one country of the earth the nation is the government.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

THE death of the President called Andrew Johnson to the chief magistracy. The latter on the day after the assassination took the oath, and at once assumed the duties of office. He was a native of North Carolina, born in Raleigh, on the 29th of December, 1808. His boyhood was passed in obscurity, poverty and neglect. He had no advantages of education, and at the age of ten was apprenticed to a tailor. At eighteen he removed with his mother to Tennessee, and made his home at Greenville, in that State. Here he took in marriage an intelligent lady, who taught him to write and cipher. Here by native talent, will and strength he first earned the applause of his fellow-men. Here through toils and hardships he rose to distinction and was elected to Congress. As Senator of the United States, in 1860-61, he opposed secession with all his vehemence, even after the legislature of Tennessee had declared that State out of the Union. Then on the 4th of March, 1862, he was appointed military governor of Tennessee, and established himself at Nashville. He administered affairs from that place with all the vigor and passion of his nature. There was neither quailing nor the spirit of compromise. His life was imperiled, but he fed on danger and grew strong. In 1864 he was elected to the Vice-Presidency in place of Hannibal Hamlin. Now, by the tragic death of the President, he was called suddenly to the assumption of responsibilities almost as great as those which Lincoln had borne during the war.

In his first message to Congress, Johnson recommended a policy of extreme severity toward the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy. The merciful tones of Lincoln were no longer heard from the White House, and there were dread and quaking throughout the seceded States. The great questions entailed by the war were at once taken up. On the 1st of February, 1865, a Constitutional Amendment was adopted by Congress, formally abolishing and forbidding human slavery in all the States and Territories of the Union. By the 18th of the following December the amendment had been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-seven States, and became a part of the Constitution. Thus was the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln made legal by the representatives of the people and the people themselves, and thus were the logical results of the war incorporated forever in the fundamental law of the land.

What should the government do with the leaders of the late Rebellion? On this question the voice of Lincoln was heard out of the grave. Following the policy of that martyr, President Johnson, on the 29th of May, 1865, issued the Amnesty Proclamation, providing a general pardon for all persons—except those specified in certain classes—who had participated in the organization and defense of the Confederacy. The condition of pardon was simply an oath of allegiance to the United States. The excepted persons might be pardoned on special application to the President.

As soon as practicable the great armies were disbanded. General Grant hurried from the field and lent his aid and influence to the work. One of the most striking scenes ever witnessed was the great military parade and review at Washington City. It was the closing pageant of the war. Seventy-five thousand Union soldiers, including Sherman's veterans from Carolina, paraded the streets and passed the reviewing stand, where the President and the principal civil

and military officers of the United States occupied the platform. After this the soldiers as an organized force melted rapidly away, and were resolved into the citizenship out of which they sprang.

By the end of the war the national debt had piled up mountains high. It went on increasing in proportions until the beginning of 1866. The yearly interest rose to the enormous sum of \$133,000,000 in gold. The expenses of the government had reached an aggregate of two hundred millions annually. The augmented revenues of the nation, however, and the energy of the financial management, proved sufficient to meet the enormous outlay, and at last the debt began to be slowly diminished. On the 5th of December, 1865, a resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives pledging the faith of the United States to the full payment of the national debt, both principal and interest.

During the progress of the war the government had been constantly menaced by the hostility of foreign Powers. Only Russia, of all the great governments of Europe, had been at heart favorable to the Union cause. Great Britain from first to last sympathized with the Confederacy and hoped for the dismemberment of the American republic. Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, sought to aid the Confederate States and to precipitate the downfall of the Union. In pursuance of this plan, he set up a French empire in Mexico. The condition of affairs in that country favored his schemes. There was a Mexican revolution and civil war. A French army was sent to Mexico. An imperial government was organized, and early in 1864 the crown was offered to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. The latter accepted, and repairing to Mexico, set up his government with the aid of French and Austrian soldiers.

The Mexican President Juarez, however, headed a counter-revolution against the foreign usurpation, and the govern-

ment of the United States sent a rebuke to France for her violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon, becoming alarmed, withdrew his army. Maximilian was overthrown and driven from the capital. He fled to Queretaro, where he was besieged and taken prisoner. On the 13th of June, 1867, he was tried by court-martial, and condemned to be shot. On the 19th he was led to execution. He met his fate like a hero. His death and the insanity of the Empress Carlotta awakened the commiseration of mankind. The scheme of Napoleon collapsed, and his hope of gaining a foothold in the New World and of "restoring the ascendancy of the Latin race" was brought to shame and contempt.

The summer of 1865 was noted for the laying of the second Atlantic cable. The first line, laid in 1858, had failed after a few weeks of operation. Cyrus W. Field never abandoned the enterprise, but held on persistently till fame and success came together. After the steamer *Great Eastern* had proceeded twelve hundred miles on her way to America the second cable parted and was lost. The enterprise was renewed for the third time in July of 1866 and the work was successfully done. The lost cable was also recovered and that line completed. After twelve years of unremitting efforts Mr. Field received a gold medal from Congress and the plaudits of all civilized nations.

It was during the administration of Johnson that the Territories of the United States were given approximately their final forms. The vast domains west of the Mississippi were reduced to proper limits and organized for early admission into the Union. In March of 1861 Dakota, destined after twenty-seven years to become two great States, was detached from Nebraska on the north and given a political organization. The Territory embraced an area of a hundred and fifty thousand square miles. Kansas had at last, on the 29th of January, 1861, been admitted into the Union.

under a constitution framed at Wyandotte. In February of 1863 Arizona, with an area of a hundred and thirteen thousand square miles, was separated from New Mexico on the west, and organized as an independent Territory. On the 3d of March in the same year Idaho was constructed out of portions of Dakota, Nebraska and Washington Territory. On the 26th of May, 1864, Montana, with an area of a hundred and thirty-six thousand square miles, was cut off from the eastern part of Idaho. On the 1st of March, 1867, the Territory of Nebraska, reduced to an area of seventy-six thousand square miles, was admitted into the Union as the thirty-seventh State. On the 26th of July, 1868, Wyoming, with an area of ninety-eight thousand square miles, was organized out of portions of Dakota, Idaho and Utah.

Meanwhile, in 1867, the far-off region of the northwestern extremity of our continent, known as Alaska, was purchased by the United States. Two years previously this country had been explored by a corps of scientific men, with a view of establishing telegraphic communication between the United States and Asia. Alaska was found to be by no means the worthless country of popular belief. The coast fisheries, including the product of the seal islands, were found to be of very great value, and the pine and cedar forests were among the finest in the world. Negotiations for the purchase of the country were opened with Russia by William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and on the 30th of March, 1867, the treaty was concluded by which for seven million two hundred thousand dollars Alaska was purchased by the United States, thus adding to our territories an area of five hundred and eighty thousand square miles and a population of twenty-nine thousand souls.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE duty now devolved upon the government to reconstruct the American Union. How to do it was the issue of the day. On that question a break soon appeared between the President and Congress. The former held that the ordinances of secession had been invalid and of no effect, and that the restoration of the Southern States to their place in the Union was a matter of executive authority and management. The President accordingly proceeded on the 9th of May, 1865, to issue a proclamation for the restoration of Virginia to her place in the Union. Twenty days afterwards he issued a second proclamation for the setting up of a provisional government in South Carolina, and at brief intervals for all the other States of the Confederacy. On the 24th of June he proclaimed the removal of all restrictions from commerce with the Southern States. On the 7th of September he completed the cycle of manifestoes by issuing a second Amnesty Proclamation, whereby all persons who had upheld the Confederate cause, except a few leaders, were unconditionally pardoned.

Tennessee was reorganized, and in 1866 restored to her place in the Union. All the while, however, Congress, falling more and more into hostility with the President, pursued its own line of policy with regard to reconstruction. During the session of 1865-66 a Committee of Fifteen was appointed to consider all questions relating to the reorganization of the Southern States. Soon afterwards the Civil Rights Bill was passed with a view to securing to the freed-

men of the South full exercise of citizenship. This measure was vetoed by the President, but was immediately repassed by a two-thirds Congressional majority. This was the beginning of the open break between the two departments of the government.

The summer of 1866 witnessed a call for a National Peace Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 14th of August. The project appears to have originated in a sentiment of the President. The objects of the meeting were not clearly defined, but the immediate purpose was to get together the representatives from all parts of the country for a fraternal political meeting. To this extent the scheme was successful. At the appointed time delegates from all the States and Territories came together. President Johnson attended the Convention, and the meeting was not wanting in spirit; but it proved to be a factitious enthusiasm, springing from the effort of those who clung to the administration.

Johnson in the next place sought to rally public opinion by a journey through the States. In the after part of summer he set out from Washington, taking with him General Grant, Admiral Farragut, the leading members of the cabinet and a retinue of other celebrities. With these he departed for Chicago to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of a monument to Senator Stephen A. Douglas. The party passed through Philadelphia, New York and Albany, and after participating in the ceremonies at Chicago, returned by way of St. Louis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati and Pittsburg. At all the principal towns and cities through which he passed the President delivered addresses, which in some instances took the character of harangues in which he defended his own policy and denounced that of Congress. The result, however, was unfavorable to the chief actor, and in the following elections Congress was sustained by increased popular majorities. The stubborn nature of the

President would not yield and the affairs of the administration came to a crisis. It began to appear that Johnson had gone over to the Confederate party. Congress abandoned him and with him the milder principles of reconciliation which Lincoln had professed, and became relentlessly hostile towards the lately rebellious party of the South.

The Committee of Fifteen meanwhile brought forward their report, and that report became the basis of the reconstruction of the Union. The terms were, first of all, that the people of any rebellious State should ratify by the legislature thereof the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declared the citizenship of all persons born or naturalized in the United States. *After that* elections might be held and representatives to Congress chosen, with the full restoration of State autonomy. Meanwhile an act was passed forbidding the restriction of suffrage on the score of race or color in all the Territories of the United States. To all these measures the President opposed his veto; but in every case his objection was overcome by the two-thirds majority in Congress.

The question at issue now began to clear. It was simply this, whether a *civil* or a *military* plan of reconstruction should be adopted for the lately rebellious States. The latter view gained the day, and it was determined in Congress that the military and suppressive method should be employed in the South, securing a prospective alliance politically between the Black Republicans of the old Slave States and the White Republicans of the North. The presidential policy favored the resurrection of the old white leadership of the South—a measure which would probably have been fatal to the ascendancy of the Republican party in the government.

On the 2d of March, 1867, an act was passed by Congress for the organization of the ten seceded States into five military districts, each district to be under control of a governor

appointed by the President. The latter appointed the governors, but appealed to his Attorney-General and secured from that official an answer that most of the reconstruction acts of Congress were null and void. The President hereupon issued such orders to the military governors as virtually made their offices of no effect. The counsels in the government became more and more distracted; but in course of time the States of Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina were reconstructed, and in June and July of 1868 were readmitted into the Union. In each case, however, the readmission was effected over the veto of the President.

Matters in the administration now became critical. A difficulty arose in the cabinet, which led to impeachment proceedings against the President. On the 21st of February, 1868, he notified Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, of his dismissal from office. The act was regarded by Congress as not only unprecedented, but in violation of law, and was made the basis of the measures that were adopted against the Executive. On the 3d of March articles of impeachment were agreed to by the House of Representatives, and the cause against the President was remanded to the Senate for trial. The proceedings began on the 23d of March and extended to the 26th of May, when the question was submitted to a vote of the Senators acting as judges, and Johnson was acquitted. His escape from an adverse verdict, however, was perilously narrow. A two-thirds majority was required to convict, and but *a single vote* was wanting to that result. The trial was the most remarkable, and perhaps the most dangerous, which had ever distracted, not to say disgraced, the history of the country.

After this event Johnson went on sullenly to the close of his administration, but the time of another presidential election was at hand, and General Ulysses S. Grant was

named by the Republicans as their standard-bearer. On the Democratic side Horatio Seymour, of New York, was nominated. The questions dividing the people arose out of the issues of the Civil War. Should the measures of the recent Congress be upheld and carried into effect? On that question General Grant was elected by a large majority. The electoral votes of twenty-six States, amounting to two hundred and fourteen ballots, were cast in his favor, while his competitor received only the eighty votes of eleven States. Of the popular vote Grant received 3,013,188, against 2,703,600 for Seymour. The choice for the Vice-Presidency fell on Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

The new President was a native of Point Pleasant, Ohio, where he was born on the 27th of April, 1822. His boyhood was uneventful, but not without promise. At seventeen he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, and was graduated in 1843. He served with distinction in the Mexican War, in which he was promoted to a captaincy for gallantry in the field. After that conflict he became a merchant in St. Louis, but afterwards resided at Galena, Illinois. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was living in obscurity, following the vocation of tanner and leather merchant. Nor could any have foreseen the probability of his emergence to fame. His military career has been recited in the preceding pages. At the close of the war his reputation was very great, and during the difficulties between President Johnson and Congress the fame of Grant rose still higher in the estimation of his countrymen. At the Republican Convention in Chicago, on the 21st of May, 1868, he had no competitor; he was unanimously nominated on the first ballot.

Entering on his duties as President, the new Executive sent to the Senate the following nominations: For Secretary of State, Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; for Secretary

of the Treasury, Alexander T. Stewart, of New York; for Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio; for Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of War, John M. Schofield, of Illinois; for Postmaster-General, John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland; for Attorney-General, E. R. Hoar, of Massachusetts. The nominations were at once confirmed, but it was soon discovered that Mr. Stewart, being an importer of foreign goods, was ineligible to a position in the cabinet. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was accordingly appointed to the vacant position. Mr. Washburne also gave up his place to become Minister of the United States to France; the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Hamilton Fish, of New York.

Now came the completion of the Pacific railway. The first division of that great trans-continental line extended from Omaha, Nebraska, to Ogden, Utah, a distance of a thousand and thirty-two miles. This span was known as the Union Pacific Railway. The western division, called the Central Pacific, stretched from Ogden to San Francisco, a distance of eight hundred and eighty-two miles. On the 10th of May, 1869, the great work was completed with appropriate ceremonies.

The Civil War entailed the necessity for certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The first of these, known as the Fourteenth Amendment, extended the rights of citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and declared the validity of the public debt. Just before the expiration of Johnson's term in the Presidency, the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, providing that the right of citizens of the United States *to vote* should not be denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This article received the sanction of three-fourths of the legislatures, and on the 30th

of March, 1870, was proclaimed by the President as a part of the Constitution.

It was in this year (October 12) that Robert E. Lee, the great general and the magnanimous man, died at Lexington, Virginia, aged sixty-three years. He tried strenuously to prevent the South from seceding, but when that fatal action was taken he cast in his fortunes with his people and strove with all his might for that Southern independence which he had before used his influence to oppose. After the close of the war he became the patriotic citizen and educator, and devoted his energies to repairing the losses sustained by the great conflict. A man of finished education and lofty character, he was made president of the Washington University, of Lexington, Virginia, which was renamed, in his honor, the Washington and Lee University, in which position he continued until the close of his eventful life. His death was not only a loss to the South, but to the whole nation, and was sincerely mourned by all classes, but especially grief was manifested by his people, who knew him best as a wise, brave, faithful, able and generous general, citizen and educator.

Great opportunities for frauds and speculations were furnished by the financial conditions now present in the country. The buying and selling of gold became a business. The art of manipulating the gold market was acquired to perfection, and the Gold Room in New York City became the scene of such audacious transactions as had never been known before. In the fall of 1869 occurred the most extraordinary event of all. No other scheme of equal extent and audacity was ever concocted in the financial marts of the world. A conspiracy was laid under the leadership of Jay Gould and James Fisk, Jr., to produce what is known as a *corner* in the gold market, and the success of the scheme was so considerable as to bring the business interests of the



From the Original by Adamson

#### THE FOURTH INFANTRY UNDER FILIPINO FIRE.

The drawing represents a tragic incident of a reconnaissance in the Philippines. Lieutenant Cheney, of the Fourth Infantry scouts, advanced some miles ahead of two companies of United States infantry, in an effort to locate the insurgent force when his small party was surprised by a large body of the enemy that had concealed themselves in a thicket by the roadside. The Americans received the fire that was suddenly poured into them without exhibiting the least trepidation, and though outnumbered nearly twenty to one, they valorously maintained their ground until their heroic leader Lieutenant Cheney, fell mortally wounded. The Americans were disconcerted by this loss and slowly gave way, but carried the dying officer with them until reinforcements arrived, when the Filipinos were so fiercely attacked that they soon retreated in the greatest disorder, leaving more than twenty of their number dead and wounded on the field.





metropolis to the verge of ruin. The conspirators managed to advance the price of gold from about one hundred and thirty to one hundred and sixty-five, at which time the managers of the corner had virtual control of the market, and openly boasted that they would put up the price of gold to two hundred! On the 24th of September, known as Black Friday, the crisis was broken by the action of the government. Mr. Boutwell unsealed the Treasury of the United States, poured the gold reserve on the heads of the gamblers, and forced down the price of their phantom gold twenty per cent. in less than as many minutes! The speculators were blown away in an uproar, but managed by fraud and corruption to carry off with them more than eleven million dollars as the profits of their game!

At this time was completed the reconstruction of the Southern States. On the 24th of January, 1870, the Senators and Representatives of Virginia were readmitted to Congress. On the 23d of February, like action was taken in the case of Mississippi; and on the 30th of March the work was completed by the readmission of Texas, last of the seceded States. After a period of nearly ten years, the people of all the States were again represented in the councils of the nation.

The vast work of taking and publishing the ninth census of the United States was completed in the years 1870-71. The results were of the most encouraging character. Notwithstanding the ravages of war, the last decade had been one of wonderful growth and progress. The population had increased from 31,433,000 to 38,587,000. The center of population had moved westward to a point fifty miles east of Cincinnati. The national debt had been somewhat reduced as to the figures in which it was expressed, but perhaps not at all in its value; for the currency had raised in value more rapidly than the debt had fallen off. The products of the

United States had reached an enormous aggregate; even the cotton crop of the Southern States had regained much of its importance in the markets of the world. The Union now embraced thirty-seven States and eleven Territories, and the latter were, as we have seen, rapidly approaching Statehood.

President Grant was perhaps the least visionary of all the great Americans who have risen to distinction in our political history. In one particular he had a favorite project, and that was the annexation of Santo Domingo to the United States. He also sought to extend and amplify the relations, civil, social and commercial, between the American republic and Mexico. His project for annexing Santo Domingo resulted in the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, composed of Senator Ben Wade, of Ohio, President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, and Dr. Samuel Howe, of Massachusetts,—to visit Santo Domingo and report upon the desirability of annexation. The commissioners spent three months abroad, and reported in favor of the President's scheme. The matter was laid before Congress, but the opposition excited in that body was so great that the measure was defeated.

The time had now arrived when Great Britain was to be brought to the bar of justice for the wrongs which she had committed against the United States during the Civil War. The account held against that country by our government was sufficiently serious. The gravamen of the charges was the connivance of England in fitting out, equipping and encouraging the Confederate cruisers which preyed upon our commerce during the greater part of the war. The conduct of Great Britain was in plain violation of the law of nations. Time and again Mr. Seward remonstrated with the British authorities on account of their conduct. Great Britain, however, in common with all the monarchies of Western

Europe, sympathized with the Confederacy, and desired the destruction of the American republic—a type of government most dangerous to themselves.

After the war Great Britain became alarmed at her own conduct and sought a settlement. In February of 1871 a Joint High Commission, composed of five British and five American statesmen, assembled at Washington City. The particular thing complained of by the United States was the so-called Alabama Claims, that is, claims arising from the ravages committed by the Confederate privateer, the *Alabama*. The commissioners succeeded in framing a treaty known as the Treaty of Washington, wherein it was agreed that all claims of either nation should be submitted to a Board of Arbitration, to be appointed by friendly nations. The high court thus provided for met in Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1872. The cause of the two nations was impartially heard, and on the 14th of December was decided in favor of the United States. The verdict was that Great Britain for the wrong she had done should pay to the treasury of the American government 15,500,000 dollars.

It was at this epoch that the railroad enterprises of the United States were carried to the high-water mark of activity and success. In 1871 no less than seven thousand six hundred and seventy miles of railroad were constructed. There is perhaps no other single fact in the history of the world which exhibits so marvelous a development of the physical resources of a nation. In 1830 there were but twenty-three miles of railway track in the New World; in 1840, two thousand eight hundred and eighteen miles; in 1850, nine thousand and twenty-one miles; in 1860, thirty thousand six hundred and thirty-five miles; in 1870, more than sixty thousand miles. In the single year of 1871 more miles of railway were built in the United States than Spain, whose

navigators had discovered the New World, has built in her whole career !

The same year witnessed a calamity almost as vast as the enterprise just referred to was astonishing. The event in question was the burning of Chicago. On the evening of the 8th of October a fire broke out in De Koven Street and was driven by a high wind into the lumber-yards and wooden houses of the neighborhood. The conflagration spread with great rapidity across the south branch of the Chicago River and thence into the business parts of the city. All that night and the next day the deluge of fire rolled on, sprang across the main channel of the river into North Chicago and swept everything away as far as Lincoln Park. The area burned over was two thousand one hundred acres, or three and a third square miles ! About two hundred lives were lost and property destroyed to the value of two hundred millions of dollars. No such devastation by fire had been witnessed since the burning of Moscow. The ravaged district was the greatest ever swept over by fire in a city ; the amount of property was second in value, and the suffering occasioned third among the great conflagrations of the world.

In the fall of 1822 the dispute between the United States and Great Britain relative to our northwestern boundary was settled by arbitration. The treaty of 1846 had defined that line as extending to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island and thence southerly through *the middle* of said channel and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific. But what was " the middle of said channel "? There were several channels, and the British government claimed the Straits of Rosario as the true line. The contention of the United States was for the channel called the Canal de Haro. After a quarter of a century the question was finally referred for arbitration to William I., Emperor of Germany. That monarch heard the cause, and on

the 21st of October, 1872, decided in favor of the United States, thus denoting the Canal de Haro as the international boundary.

President Grant was by education and habit a military man, a general of armies rather than a statesman. It was natural, from the conditions present at the epoch, that the military spirit should strongly express itself in the administration. Major-generals and brigadiers swarmed in the halls of Congress and thronged the White House. The President was not at all desirous of introducing military methods into the government; but on the other hand he had no sympathy with political methods and knew nothing of the arts of the demagogue. As a natural result he fell back upon the manners and usages with which he was acquainted. This, however, did not injure his popularity. He retained his hold upon the people, and with the approach of the presidential election it was evident that he would be renominated by his party.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE political questions of the day were still those which had issued from the Civil War. The Congressional plan of reconstruction had been unfavorably received in the South and was attacked by the Democratic party. The raising of the Negro race to the full rank of citizenship with the right of suffrage had created bitter opposition. In the South the civil government had been disorganized, and the attempt to establish military government in its stead virtually failed. The enmity of the Southern leaders and the greater part of the whites who had participated in the Rebellion was fanned to a flame by the presence of a governmental organization in which they did not, and would not, participate. A lawless secret society, called the Ku-Klux Klan spread through a greater part of the Southern States, its object being to harass and extinguish what were called the carpet-bag governments. These had been in large part instituted by political adventurers from the North, who had gone South at the close of the war with their politics and other fortunes in their *carpet-bags*! It was now discovered what the Northern statesmen had failed to apprehend, namely, that the freedmen of the South had, for the time, little or no capacity for self-government.

Such were the questions which divided the people in the quadrennial election of 1872. General Grant was renominated by the Republicans. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was chosen as the vice-presidential candidate in place of Mr. Colfax. On the Democratic side there was much confusion of counsels. It was foreseen that a leader of that

party on the issue presented to the American people would have small show of success against the great Union captains of the Civil War. Meanwhile a large number of prominent Republicans, dissatisfied with the administration, formed a Liberal Republican party, and nominated for the Presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. After some beating about, this nomination was accepted and ratified by the Democratic party, together with the platform of the Liberal Republicans, which was anything else than Democratic in its character. Greeley had for more than thirty years been an acknowledged leader of public opinion in America. He had been the champion of human rights, advocate of progress, idealist, philanthropist, a second Franklin born out of due season. He had discussed with vehement energy and enthusiasm almost every question in which the people of the United States had any interest. Now, at the age of sixty-one, he was made the standard-bearer of a party of political extremes marvelously mixed.

This strange candidate of a strange party went before the people and spoke on the questions involved in the contest ; but everything was adverse to his prospects. His own utterances, his strange personality, his former bitter contentions with the Democratic party, and many other things were paraded against him. He was overwhelmingly defeated. Grant's majority was almost unprecedented in the political history of the country. Mr. Greeley, who had for the time relinquished the editorial management of the *Tribune*, returned to his duties ; but he went back a broken man, and died in less than a month after the election. With him ended the career of the greatest journalist which America had ever produced.

Just after the presidential election, the city of Boston was visited with a conflagration which, but for the recent burning of Chicago, would have been regarded as the greatest

disaster of its kind ever known in the United States. On the evening of the 9th of November a fire broke out on the corner of Kingston and Summer Streets, from which nucleus it spread in a northeasterly direction, and continued to rage with unabated fury until the morning of the 11th. The best portion of the city, embracing some of the most valuable blocks of buildings, was laid in ashes. The burnt district covered an area of sixty-five acres. Fifteen lives were lost, and property to the value of eighty millions of dollars.

In the meantime a dreadful incident had occurred on the Pacific slope. In the spring of 1872 Superintendent OdNeal undertook to remove the Modoc Indians from their lands on Lake Klamath, Oregon, to a new reservation. The Indians were already imbittered against the government on account of the mistreatment and robberies to which they had been subjected by the national officers. At length, in November of 1872, a body of troops was sent to force the Modocs into compliance with the official order. They resisted, went on the war-path, and during the winter fixed themselves in an almost inaccessible region known as the Lava Beds. Here in the following spring they were surrounded. On the 11th of April, 1873, six members of the Peace Commission went to a conference with the Modocs, hoping to prevail upon them to yield to the demands of the government, and to cease from hostilities. The Modocs dissembled, and in the midst of the conference sprang up and fired on the Commissioners. General Canby and Dr. Thomas fell dead on the spot. Mr. Meacham was shot and stabbed but escaped with his life. The Modoc stronghold was then besieged and bombarded; but it was not until the 1st of June that General Davis, with a force of regulars, was able to compel the Indians to surrender. Jack himself and several of his chiefs were tried by court-martial, and executed in the following October.

The system of government instituted in the Southern States became more and more unsatisfactory. The best elements of Southern society were against it. The white Republicans, who for the most part had gone into the South after the war, were affiliated politically with the negroes. Against such a party the old Confederates had nothing but enmity and hatred. In 1873 a difficulty arose in Louisiana by which the State was thrown into turmoil. At the election of 1872 two sets of presidential electors had been chosen. There were two election boards. Two governors—William P. Kellogg and John McEnery—were elected and rival legislatures were set up. Two State governments were constituted and everything was dual.

The dispute was carried to the Federal government, and the President decided in favor of Kellogg and his party. The rival government was dispatched, but in December of 1874 the McEnery party revived, and Lieutenant-Governor Penn, who had been with McEnery, gained possession of the State capitol. Kellogg fled to the custom-house and appealed to the President for aid. The latter ordered a body of troops to be sent to New Orleans and issued a proclamation against the adherents of Penn. With the assembling of the legislature, in December following, the difficulty broke out more violently than ever, and the insurgent party had to be put down by the military.

Early in President Grant's second term occurred the Credit Mobilier investigation in Congress—a thing scandalous to national honor. The Credit Mobilier of America was a joint-stock company organized for the purpose of facilitating the construction of public works. Four years afterwards, namely, in 1867, a company which had been organized to build the Pacific railroad purchased the charter of the Credit Mobilier and increased the capital to \$3,750,000. The railway company sublet the work of

building the Pacific railway under contract for the government to the Credit Mobilier organization, and that body *was composed mostly of themselves!* The railway depended largely upon subsidies to be granted by the government. It became, therefore, of the vastest importance to the managers that favorable legislation should continue until they had gathered the proceeds.

It was necessary that the door which was thus opened into the treasury should not be closed. To prevent such possible obstruction the management resorted to wholesale corruption. In 1872 a law-suit in Pennsylvania developed the startling fact that much of the stock of the Credit Mobilier *was owned by members of Congress!* The managers, under the leadership of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, had placed the stock certificates of the Credit Mobilier in wholesale quantities to the credit of Representatives, Senators and other high officers of the government. The certificates cost the holders not a cent. In some instances the holders were not aware that they were the owners of any such stock until large dividends were declared and tendered to them as profits! Not a few persons were thus enriched without the expenditure of a dollar. The suspicion flashed through the public mind that the holders of such stock had been corrupted, and that legislation favorable to the Pacific railway had been secured thereby. Many political fortunes were suddenly wrecked in the scandal, and public faith was greatly shaken in the representatives of the people.

In the fall of 1873 a disastrous financial panic overtook the country. The alarm was given by the unexpected failure of the great banking house of Jay Cooke and Company, of Philadelphia. Other failures followed in rapid succession. Depositors hurried to the banks and withdrew their funds. A sudden paralysis fell on every department of business, and many months elapsed before confidence

was sufficiently restored to bring about the usual transactions of trade.

One of the results of this financial crisis was the sudden check given to the construction of the Northern Pacific railway. This great work had been undertaken by subsidies from Congress. Jay Cooke's banking house made heavy loans to the company and accepted the bonds of the company as security. When the Credit Mobilier scandal was blown abroad, Congress suddenly shrank back, even from such encouragement as it might have properly given to the Northern Pacific enterprise.

Work of construction on that line was suddenly arrested, not to be revived until after years of tedious delay. In 1875 the section of four hundred and fifty miles from Duluth to Bismarck, Dakota, was put into operation. The second span, one hundred and five miles in length, between Kalama and Tacoma, in Washington, was completed next, and finally the whole line. Meanwhile railway capitalists had turned to the south, and the Texas and Pacific railway was projected, from Shreveport, Louisiana, and Texarkana, Arkansas, by way of El Paso, to San Diego, California, a distance from Shreveport of fifteen hundred and fourteen miles. This trans-continental line was completed before the close of the eighth decade, and furnished the second through line of travel and commerce between the old United States and the Pacific coast.

On the 4th of March, 1875, an Enabling Act was passed by Congress authorizing the people of Colorado to prepare a State Constitution. On the 1st of July, 1876, the instrument thus provided for was ratified by the people. A month later the President issued his proclamation, and Colorado took her place as the Centennial State in the Union. The new commonwealth came with an area of a hundred and four thousand five hundred square miles, and

a population of forty-two thousand. Public attention had first been drawn to Colorado by the discovery of gold in 1852. Silver mines were found soon afterwards, and in 1858-59 the first colony of miners was established on Clear Creek and in Gilpin County. Already, before her admission as a State, Colorado had yielded from her treasures more than seventy millions of dollars in gold. Immigration became rapid; Denver grew into an important city; and the new State entered the Union under the most favorable auspices.

By this epoch the great men, whose character and genius had been developed in the times of the Civil War, began to drop rapidly from the ranks of the living. One of the most conspicuous of these personages was Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, and more recently appointed Justice of the Supreme Court. He died on the 24th of December, 1869, only four days after his appointment to the Supreme Bench, nor has the manner or immediate occasion of his death ever been ascertained. On the 12th of October, 1870, General Robert E. Lee, President of Washington and Lee University, passed away. In the same year General George H. Thomas and Admiral Farragut died. In 1872 William H. Seward, Professor Morse, Horace Greeley and General Meade were called from the scenes of their earthly labors. On the 7th of May, 1873, Chief Justice Chase fell under a stroke of paralysis, at the home of his daughter in New York City, and on the 11th of March, 1874, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, died at Washington. He was a native of Boston; born in 1811; liberally educated at Harvard College. He entered public life at the age of thirty-five and at thirty-nine succeeded Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States —a position which he retained until the time of his death. On the 22d of November, 1875, Vice-President Henry Wil-

son died in Washington City. He, like Roger Sherman, had risen from the shoemaker's bench to the highest honors of his country. He possessed great abilities, true patriotism and many public and personal merits which will transmit his name to posterity.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE Centennial of American Independence was now at hand. As the event drew near the people made ready to celebrate it with appropriate ceremonies. It was determined to hold in Philadelphia a great International Exposition of Arts and Industries, the exhibition to continue from the 10th of May to the 10th of November, 1876. An appropriation of a million five hundred thousand dollars was voted by Congress to promote the enterprise, and the sum was increased by contributions from every State and Territory of the Union. The city of Philadelphia opened for the Exposition Fairmount Park, one of the largest and most beautiful in the world. A commission was constituted with General Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, as President; Alfred T. Goshorn, of Ohio, as Director-General; and John L. Campbell, of Indiana, as Secretary.

Under direction of this commission five principal buildings were projected and brought to completion by the spring of 1876. The largest structure, called the Main Building, was eighteen hundred and seventy-six feet in length within the walls and four hundred and sixty-four feet wide, covering an area of more than twenty acres. The cost of the structure was \$1,580,000. Second in importance was the Memorial Hall, or art gallery, built of granite, iron and glass, and covering an area of seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty square feet. This was by far the most elegant and permanent of all the Centennial buildings. Machinery Hall, third of the great edifices, had the same form

and appearance of the Main Building, but was less grand and beautiful. The ground floor covered an area of nearly thirteen acres. The cost of the structure was \$542,000. Agricultural Hall occupied a space of a little more than ten acres, and was built at a cost of \$260,000. Horticultural Hall was an edifice of the Moorish pattern, covering a space of one and three-fifths acres, costing about \$300,000. To these five principal structures others of interest were added: the United States Government Building; the Woman's Pavilion; the Department of Public Comfort; the Government Buildings of Foreign Nations; Modern Dwellings and Bazaars; School Houses, Restaurants and Model Factories.

The reception of articles for the Exposition was begun as early as January, 1876. A system of awards was adopted, and on the 10th of May the inaugural ceremonies were held under direction of the Centennial Commission, President Grant making the opening address. The attention of the people was fully aroused to the importance of the event and the grounds were crowded from the first day with thousands and hundreds of thousands of visitors. The Exposition was perhaps the grandest and most interesting of its kind ever witnessed up to that year of history. All summer long citizens and strangers from every clime poured into the spacious and beautiful park. Distinguished personages, among them Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, came from abroad to gather instruction from the arts and industries of mankind.

The Fourth of July, centennial anniversary of the great Declaration, was celebrated throughout the country. In Philadelphia on that day about two hundred and fifty thousand strangers were present. The Declaration was read in Independence Square by Richard Henry Lee, grandson of him by whom the resolution to be free was first offered in Congress—read from the original manuscript. A

*National Ode* was recited by the poet Bayard Taylor, and a *Centennial Oration* delivered by William M. Evarts. At night the city was illuminated and the ceremonies were concluded with fireworks and jubilee.

The Centennial grounds were opened for one hundred and fifty-eight days. The daily attendance varied from five thousand to two hundred and seventy-five thousand persons. The total receipts for admission were \$3,761,000. The total number of visitors was nine million seven hundred and eighty-six thousand. On the 10th of November the Exposition was formally closed by President Grant, attended by General Hawley and Director Goshorn, of Cincinnati. The Memorial Building was preserved intact as a permanent ornament of Fairmount Park. The Main Building was sold by auction and the materials removed. Machinery Hall was purchased by Philadelphia and afterwards removed from the grounds. The Woman's Pavilion was presented to Philadelphia, together with most of the government buildings of foreign nations. It cannot be doubted that the Centennial Exposition left a permanent impression for good and contributed to the harmony of the civilized States of the world.

In the last year of Grant's administration a war broke out with the Sioux Indians. This fierce nation had in 1867 agreed with the government to relinquish all of the territory south of the Niobrara, west of the one hundred and fourth meridian and north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude. The terms were such as to confine the Sioux to a large reservation in southwestern Dakota. To this reservation they agreed to retire by the 1st of January, 1876. Meanwhile gold was discovered among the Black Hills, lying within the limits of the Sioux reservation. No treaty could keep the hungry horde of white gold-diggers and adventurers from overrunning the interdicted region. This gave the

Sioux good cause for breaking over the limits of their reservation and roaming at large, and also a certain excuse for the ravages which they committed in Wyoming and Montana.

The government, however, must needs drive the Sioux back upon their reservation. A force of regulars under Generals Terry and Crook was sent into the mountainous country of the upper Yellowstone, and the Indians, numbering several thousand, led by their chieftain, Sitting Bull, were crowded back against the Big Horn Mountains and River. Generals Custer and Reno were sent forward with the Seventh Cavalry to discover the whereabouts of the Indians. They came upon the Sioux in a large valley extending along the left bank of the Little Big Horn. Custer led the advance. It was the 25th of June, 1876.

With Custer, to see the enemy was to fight. What ensued has never been adequately determined. It appears that the general, under-estimating the number of the Indians with whom he had to contend, charged headlong with his division of the cavalry into the upper end of the town. He was at once assailed by thousands of yelling warriors. Custer and every man in his command fell in the fight. The conflict surpassed in desperation and disaster any other battle ever fought between the whites and Indians. The whole loss of the Seventh Cavalry was two hundred and sixty-one killed and fifty-two wounded. Reno, who engaged the savages at the lower end of their town, held his position on the bluffs of the Little Big Horn until General Gibbon arrived with reinforcements and saved the rest from destruction.

Other detachments of the army were hurried to the scene of war. During the summer and autumn the Indians were routed in several engagements. Negotiations were opened with the chiefs for the removal of the Sioux nation to the

Indian Territory; but desperate bands of the red men still remained on the warpath. The civilized Indians of the Territory objected to having the fierce savages out of the North sent into their country. The war went on till the 24th of November, when the Sioux were decisively defeated by the Fourth Cavalry in a pass of the Big Horn Mountains. The Indians suffered heavy losses and their town of a hundred and seventy-three huts was totally destroyed. Active operations continued until the 6th of January, 1877, when the remnant of the Sioux was completely routed by the division of General Miles.

The remaining bands of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse now made their escape into Canada. There they remained until the following fall, when a commission, headed by General Terry, met Sitting Bull and his principal warriors at Fort Walsh, on the Canadian frontier. A conference was held on the 8th of October and pardon was offered the Indians for all past offenses, on condition of future good behavior. But Sitting Bull and his chiefs rejected the proposals. The conference was broken off and the Sioux remained in the British Dominions, north of Milk River. Not until 1880—and then through the intervention of the Canadian government—were Sitting Bull and his band induced to return to the reservation of the Yankton Sioux, on the west bank of the Missouri River, Dakota.

Before the end of the war the twenty-third presidential election had been held. At the Republican National Convention of 1876 General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, were chosen as the standard-bearers of their party. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, were nominated by the Democrats. The Independent Greenback party appeared in the field and presented as candidates Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio.

The canvass began early and was conducted with much asperity. The Democratic battle-cry was *Reform*--reform in the public service and in all the methods of administration. The Republicans answered back with the cry of *Reform*--averring their anxiety to correct public abuses of whatever sort, and to bring to punishment all who had been corrupt in the offices of the government. To this was added a declaration in favor of national sovereignty against the old doctrine of State sovereignty, which was still vital in the South. The Greenback party also cried *Reform*--monetary reform first and all other reforms afterwards. It was alleged by the leaders of this party that the redemption of the national legal-tenders and other obligations of the United States *in gold* was a project unjust to the debtor class and iniquitous from every point of view. The advocates of this theory, however, had but a slight political organization and did not succeed in securing a single electoral vote.

The canvass drew to a close ; the election was held ; the general result was ascertained, and both the Republican and Democratic parties claimed the victory. The electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and Oregon were claimed by both. In all those States there had been great irregularity and fraud at the election. The powers of Congress in such cases were so vaguely defined that no declaration of the result could be made. There was great confusion in the country and the premonition of civil war.

With the meeting of Congress in December, 1876, the question of the disputed Presidency came at once before that body for settlement. The situation was complicated by the political complexion of the two Houses. In the Senate the Republicans had a majority, and in the House the Democrats. Acrimonious debates began and seemed likely to be interminable. Should the electoral votes of the

several States be opened and counted by the presiding officer of the Senate in accordance with constitutional usage in such cases? Or should some additional court be constituted to consider and pass upon the spurious returns from the States where frauds and irregularities had occurred?

The necessity of doing *something* became imperative. The business interests of the country grew clamorous for a speedy adjustment of the difficulty. The spirit of compromise gained ground in Congress, and it was agreed that a Joint High Commission should be constituted to which all the disputed election returns should be referred for decision. The body was to consist of five members chosen from the Senate of the United States, five from the House of Representatives and five from the Supreme Court. The judgment of the tribunal was to be final in all matters referred thereto for decision.

The commission was accordingly constituted. The counting of the electoral votes was begun as usual in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives. When any disputed or duplicate returns were reached they were referred State by State to the Joint High Commission, by which body the decision was made. On the 2d of March, 1877, only two days before the time for the inauguration, the final judgment of the court was rendered. The Republican candidates were declared elected. One hundred and eighty-five electoral votes were counted for Hayes and Wheeler and one hundred and eighty-four for Tilden and Hendricks. The most dangerous political crisis in the history of the country thus passed harmlessly by without violence or bloodshed.\*

\* The complete domination of party politics in the United States was never more unhappily illustrated than in the work of the Joint High Commission. This is not said in judgment of the result which was reached, but of the features and methods and principles revealed in the work of the Commission. The five members of the court from the House of Representatives—that body

being Democratic—were of course three Democrats and two Republicans; the five from the Senate—that body being Republican—were three Republicans and two Democrats; the five from the Supreme Court were two Republicans, two Democrats and Judge David Davis, an Independent. It was clear from the first that the decision was likely to rest with the probity, conscience and fearlessness of Judge Davis. But before the issue came to trial, by a sudden whirl in the politics of Illinois, the legislature of that State elected Judge Davis to the Senate of the United States, thus relieving him of the fearful responsibility under which he was about to be placed. Judge Joseph P. Bradley, who was called an Independent, but whose political antecedents and proclivities were Republican, was accordingly appointed by the Supreme Court as the fifth member from that body.

When the proceedings began it was at once manifest that every Democratic member would vote for his candidates whatever might be the proofs; that every Republican would support Hayes and Wheeler whatever might be the facts, and that Judge Bradley, who constituted the real court, would decide according to his antecedents and proclivities. In no single instance during the proceedings did any member of the court rise above his political bias. The decision, therefore, happy enough in the sequel, was simply a gigantic political intrigue—a work in which on the whole the Republican leaders were more sagacious and skillful than their antagonists.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

RUTHERFORD BURCHARD HAYES, nineteenth President of the United States, was born in Delaware, Ohio, on the 4th of October, 1822. His primary education was received in the public schools. After preparatory study at Norwalk Academy and Webb's Preparatory School, in Connecticut, he entered the Freshman class at Kenyon College, Ohio, and was graduated with high honors in 1842. In 1845 he completed his legal studies at Harvard College. He then began the practice of law, first at Marietta, then at Fremont, and finally in Cincinnati. Here he won a distinguished reputation. In the Civil War he rose to the rank of Major-General, and in 1864, being still in the field, was elected to Congress. In 1867 he was chosen governor of Ohio, and was twice re-elected. At the Republican convention of 1876 he had the good fortune to be nominated for the Presidency over several of the most eminent men of the nation.

President Hayes was inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1877.\* He delivered for his inaugural a conciliatory and patriotic address. On the 8th of the month he sent to the Senate the names of his cabinet officers, as follows: Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy,

\* The fourth of March fell on Sunday. The same thing has happened in the following years: 1753, 1781, 1821 (Monroe's inauguration, second term), 1849 (Taylor's inauguration), 1877 (Hayes's inauguration); and the same will occur hereafter as follows: 1917, 1945, 1973, 2001, 2029, 2057, 2085, 2125, 2153.

Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Attorney-General, Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, David M. Kee, of Tennessee. These nominations were duly ratified by the Senate, and the new administration was ushered in under not unfavorable auspices.

The first notable event under the new administration was the great Railroad Strike of 1877. Hitherto that action of working men which has now passed into the phraseology of the times as *striking* had been little known, and that only in Eastern manufactories and in the mining districts of the country. At length, however, more complex conditions of industry had supervened in the United States, and capitalists and employés had come to entertain towards each other a sentiment and attitude of armed neutrality.

Early in 1877 the managers of the great railways leading from the seaboard to the West declared a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of their workmen. The measure was to take effect on the first of July, at the precise time when the removal of the enormous grain products of the West would put upon the operatives of the railways the most excessive labors. It was the season of the year when receipts from railway freights were largest, and when, therefore, there was least rational ground for a reduction of wages. The resistance of the working men to the action of the managers was as natural as it was just.

The strike began on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad on the 16th of July. The workmen did not content themselves with ceasing to work, but gathered with such strength and spirit in Baltimore and Martinsburg, West Virginia, as to prevent the running of trains. The militia was called out by Governor Matthews, only to be dispersed by the strikers. The President ordered General French, with a body of regulars, to raise the blockade of

the road, and that officer succeeded at length in performing his duty. On the 20th of the month a strikers' riot occurred in Baltimore, and nine of the rioters were killed and many others wounded by the troops before order could be restored.

Meanwhile the strike spread rapidly to other and distant localities. In less than a week trains on all the important railways between the Hudson and the Mississippi were stopped. Except in the cotton-growing States, the labor insurrection was universal. In Pittsburg the strikers gathered to the number of twenty thousand, obtained control of the city, and for two days held a reign of terror. The Union depot, machine-shops and all the railway buildings of the city were burned. One hundred and twenty-five locomotives and two thousand five hundred cars laden with valuable merchandise were destroyed with wild havoc and uproar. The insurrection was at last suppressed by the soldiers, but not until nearly a hundred lives had been lost and property destroyed to the value of more than three million dollars.

By this time travel had ceased. The mails were stopped. Freights perished en route. Business was paralyzed throughout the country. On the 25th of July a terrible riot occurred in Chicago. Fifteen of the insurgents were killed by the police. On the next day St. Louis was imperiled by a mob. San Francisco was the scene of a dangerous outbreak, which was here directed against the Chinese immigrants and the managers of the lumber-yards. Cincinnati, Columbus, Indianapolis, Louisville and Fort Wayne were seriously endangered, but escaped without loss of life or property. By the end of July the insurrection had run its course. Business and travel revived, but the outbreak had shocked the public mind into a sense of hidden peril to American institutions.

The war with the Sioux was soon followed by that with the

Nez Percés. These Indians had their haunts in Idaho. Since 1806 they had been known to the government. Lewis and Clarke had made a treaty with them and missionaries had been sent among them. In 1854 a part of the Nez Percé territory was purchased by the United States, but large reservations were made in northwestern Idaho and northeastern Oregon. Some of the chiefs refused to ratify the purchase, and came at length into conflict with white settlers who had entered the disputed regions.

War ensued. General Howard, with a small force of regulars, was sent against the hostile tribes, but the latter, under their noted chief, Joseph, fled in this direction and that, avoiding battle. The pursuit was kept up until fall, when the Nez Percés were hemmed in in northern Montana by the command of Colonel Miles. Driven across the Missouri River, the Indians were surrounded in their camp north of the Bear Paw Mountains. A hard battle was fought, and only a few braves, led by the chief, White Bird, succeeded in escaping. All the rest were either killed or taken. Three hundred and seventy-five of the captive Nez Percés were brought back to the military posts on the Missouri. The troops of General Howard had made forced marches through a mountainous country for a distance of *sixteen hundred miles*.

The year 1878 was noted in our financial history for the passage of the Congressional measure known as the Re-monetization of Silver. When the American republic was founded in 1789, one of the most important matters imposed on the treasury was the establishment of a system of coinage. At that time there might be said to be no unit of value in the Old Thirteen States. For the most part the British Pound Sterling, with its subdivisions of shillings and pence, was recognized as the money of account. The Revolution had driven coin from the country, and the de-

vices of paper money, used in the epoch of Independence, were various and uncertain.

By the first coinage regulations of the United States the standard unit of value was the American Silver Dollar, containing three hundred and seventy-one and a fourth grains of pure silver. The Spanish-American dollar had this value, and Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, adapted the new standard to the existing dollar. By this measure it was practicable to recoin Spanish dollars into the American denomination without loss or inconvenience.

From the adoption of this standard in 1792 until 1873 the quantity of pure metal in the standard unit had never been changed, though the amount of alloy was several times altered. From 1792 until 1834 the American silver dollar was virtually the only standard unit. In the year just named the coinage scheme was enlarged and adjusted on a basis of sixteen to one of gold and silver. In 1849 the coinage of a gold dollar was provided for; and from that time forth the standard unit *existed in both metals*. Nor might it be determined whether in accounting in the United States gold was measured by the silver standard or silver by the standard of gold.

With the coming of the Civil War both metals disappeared from circulation and became a commodity of commerce. In the years 1873-74, at a time when, owing to the premium on gold and silver, both metals were out of circulation, a series of acts was passed by Congress bearing upon the standard of value whereby the legal-tender quality of silver—very adroitly—was first abridged and then abolished. These enactments were completed by the report of the coinage committee in 1874, by which it was provided that the silver dollar should henceforth *be omitted* from the list of coins to be struck at the national mints. The effect of these acts was to leave the gold dollar of twenty-three and

twenty-two-hundredths grains the single standard unit of value in the United States. In other words, the effect—coincident with the intent—was to destroy the bi-metallic and to introduce the mono-metallic system of money into our country.

The ulterior object was not far to seek. The time was near at hand when specie payments must be resumed by the government. The debts of the nation were payable *in coin*; that is, in both gold and silver coin, at the option of the payer. Meanwhile the great silver mines of the Western Mountains were discovered. It was foreseen by the debt-holding classes that silver was likely to become abundant and cheap. If that metal should be retained in the coinage, therefore, the payment of the national debt would be proportionally easy. It was deemed expedient to strike down *in time* the legal-tender quality of silver in order that the whole payment of the bonded indebtedness of the United States must be made by the standard of a dollar worth more than the dollar of the law and the contract; namely, by the single standard of gold.

The next step in this prodigious scheme was the passage of the Resumption Act. This measure was adopted in 1875. By it provision was made that on the 1st of January, 1879, the government of the United States should begin to redeem its outstanding obligations in coin. As the time for resumption drew near the premium on gold fell off, and at length the question was raised as to the meaning of the word "coin" in the act of resuming specie payment. Now for the first time the attention of the people at large was aroused to the fact that by the acts of 1873-74 the privilege and right of paying debts in silver had been taken away! It was perceived that after the beginning of 1879 all obligations, both public and private, must be discharged according to the measure of the gold dollar only.

The situation justified the tumult that followed. A cry for the remonetization of silver was heard everywhere. Vainly did the bondholding interest of the country exert itself to stay the tide. The question reached the government, and early in 1878 a measure was passed by Congress for the restoration of the legal-tender quality of the old silver dollar and providing for the compulsory coinage of that unit at the mints, at the rate of not less than two millions of dollars a month. Notwithstanding the unanimity of the country in favor of the measure, the President vetoed it; but the veto was crushed under a tremendous majority, for nearly three-fourths of the members of Congress, without respect to party affiliations, gave their support to the bill. The old double standard of values was thus measurably restored, but the fight for the preservation of silver as a monetary unit was only begun.

The year 1878 was noted for the prevalence of yellow fever in the Gulf States of the Union. The disease appeared first at New Orleans, but was quickly scattered among the other towns of the lower Mississippi. The terror spread from place to place, and people began to fly from the pestilence. The cities of Memphis and Grenada became scenes of desolation. At Vicksburg the plague was almost equally terrible. The malady extended into the parish towns, and as far north as Nashville and Louisville. Throughout the summer months the helpless population of the infested districts languished and died by thousands. In the North a system of contributions was established, and men and treasure were poured out without stint. The efforts of the Howard Association at New Orleans, Memphis and other cities were almost unequaled in heroism and sacrifice. More than twenty thousand people fell victims to the plague, and its ravages were not staid until the coming of frost,

The eighteenth article of the Treaty of Washington conceded an enlargement of rights to the fishermen of the United States in certain waters hitherto controlled exclusively by Great Britain. The privilege of taking fish of every kind—excepting shellfish—along certain shores and in the bays and harbors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Islands and Quebec was guaranteed to American fishermen. Our government, on the other hand, agreed to relinquish the duties hitherto charged on certain kinds of fish imported into American markets. In order to balance any difference which might appear in the aggregate of such mutual concessions, it was further agreed that any total advantage to the United States arising from the treaty might be balanced by the payment of a sum in gross to Great Britain. To determine what such sum might be a commission was provided for. One member of the body should be appointed by the Queen, one by the President of the United States, and in case the Queen and the President should not agree on the third, he was to be selected by the Austrian ambassador at the court of St. James. The provision for the third commissioner was one of the strangest incidents of diplomatic history. It chanced that the appointment of umpire was given to Count Von Buest, a Saxon renegade and hater of republican institutions, temporarily resident as Austrian ambassador *in London*.

The commission was constituted in the summer of 1877, at Halifax. Little attention was given to the proceedings until November, when it was announced that by the casting vote of Herr Delfosse, Belgian Minister to the United States, who had been named as umpire by the Austrian ambassador, the sum of five million dollars had been awarded against the American government. The decision was received with the utmost surprise, both in the United States and Europe. The national government, however, decided

to stand by the award rather than renounce the principle of arbitration. The result was such as to warrant the sarcasm of the times that Great Britain had got even with the United States on the score of the Alabama award.

It was in this year that a Resident Chinese Embassy was established at Washington City. For twenty years the Burlingame treaty between the United States and China had been in force. Commercial intercourse had been enlarged between the two countries, and race prejudice was to a certain extent broken down. At length the Chinese Emperor was assured that his minister would be received at Washington with all the courtesy shown to the representative of the most favored nation. Official representatives were accordingly sent from the Imperial government to the United States. These were Chen Lan Pin, Minister Plenipotentiary; Yun Wing, Assistant Envoy; and Yun Tsang Sing, Secretary of Legation. On the 28th of September the embassy was received by the President, the ceremonies of the occasion being the most novel ever witnessed in Washington City.

It was at this time that a bill, introduced by Honorable Samuel S. Cox, of New York, for the organization of the Life-saving Service of the United States, was brought before Congress, and on the 18th of June, 1878, was adopted by that body. The act provided for the establishment of stations and lighthouses on all the exposed parts of the Atlantic coast and along the Great Lakes. Each station was to be manned by a company of experienced surfmen, drilled in the best methods of rescue and resuscitation. All manner of appliances known to the science of the age was added to the equipment of the stations, and the success of the work was such as to reflect the highest credit upon its promoters. For the day the question of giving succor to shipwrecked sailors engrossed the attention of the government,

and the people grew anxious to provide against the perils of "them that go down to the sea in ships."

In accordance with the legislation of 1875 the Resumption of Specie Payments was effected on the 1st of January, 1879. During the four years of interim the premium on gold had gradually declined. In the last month of 1878 the difference between the value of gold and paper dollars was so slight as to be scarcely perceptible in business. For a few days the premium hovered about one per cent., then sank to the level and disappeared. The Gold Room of New York City was closed and metallic money reappeared on the counters of banks and in the safes of merchants. For seventeen years gold and silver had been used in merchandise, the legal-tender dollar of the government constituting the standard of value. The fact of resumption was hailed by many as the end of the epoch of speculation and the beginning of a better financial era.

Thus passed away the administration of Hayes. It was a peculiar quadrennium in American history. The methods of the President lacked emphasis, and there was nothing spectacular in the government during his occupancy of the presidential chair. Many doubts entered into the public mind concerning the legality of his election. It should be said, however, that his administration had in it more of the genuine elements of reform than had existed in any other since the days of Fillmore. His cabinet was the ablest of its kind since the ascendancy of Webster as Secretary of State. Nevertheless, both the President and his work were unpopular. The Congressional elections of 1878 went strongly against the Republicans. Everything seemed to foretoken the restoration of the Democratic party to power. The Republican National Convention of 1880 was held in Chicago on the 2d and 3d of June. The platform adopted was retrospective. The party in power looked to the past for

its renown and honor. After two days of balloting, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

On the 22d of June the Democratic National Convention assembled in Cincinnati. The platform adopted declared adherence to the doctrines and traditions of the party ; opposed centralization ; adhered to gold and silver money and paper convertible into coin ; advocated a tariff for revenue only and denounced the party in power. On this platform the convention nominated for the Presidency General Winfield S. Hancock, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency William H. English, of Indiana.

The convention of the National Greenback party was held in Chicago on the 9th of June. General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, were named as the standard-bearers. The platform declared for the rights of labor as against the exactions of capital ; denounced monopolies ; proclaimed the sovereign power of the government over the coinage of metallic and the issuance of paper money ; advocated the abolition of national banks ; declared for the payment of the bonded debt of the United States ; denounced land grants ; opposed Chinese immigration, and favored the equal taxation of all property.

It was at this time, namely, in the canvass of 1880, that the Third-party movement reached its climax for the decade. The more rational part of the principles of the Greenback party had in them a quality which demanded the assent of a respectable minority of the American people. The correctness of these principles was afterwards carried for judgment to the Supreme Court of the United States, was there argued by the ablest constitutional lawyers before a full Bench, and was decided with only a single dissenting opinion in favor of the Greenback theory of legal-

tender paper money, and its validity *as* money, independent of coin redemption. But politically the party representing these ideas was doomed to failure. The contest of 1880 lay as usual between the Republican and Democratic parties. The long-standing sectional division into North and South once more decided the contest in favor of the former. That clause of the Democratic platform which declared for a tariff for revenue only alarmed the manufacturing interests and consolidated them in favor of the Republican candidates. The banking and bondholding classes rallied to the same standard, and the old war spirit against the "Solid South" did the rest. Garfield and Arthur were elected by an electoral vote of two hundred and fourteen against one hundred and fifty-five votes for Hancock and English. General Weaver received no electoral votes, though the popular vote given to him reached an aggregate of three hundred and seven thousand.

The closing session of the forty-sixth Congress was mostly occupied with the work of refunding the national debt. About \$750,000,000 of the five and six per cent. bonds now reached maturity, and it became necessary for the government to take them up either by payment or refunding. As for payment, that was in part impracticable. As matter of fact, payment was not desired by the bondholders, and was not contemplated by the government. A bill was passed for the issuance of new bonds of two classes, both bearing three per cent. interest; the first class payable in from five to twenty years, and the second class in from one to ten years. The latter bonds were to be issued in small denominations, to give the measure the appearance of a popular loan. One provision of the bill required the national banks to surrender their high-rate bonds and accept the new three per cents instead. This clause aroused the antagonism of the banks, and they sought in every possible

way to prevent the passage of the bill. The measure as proposed was repugnant to capitalists and bondholders as a class. These forces at length prevailed, and though the bill was passed by Congress, the President returned it with his objections, and the measure failed. The question of refunding was thus carried over to the next administration.

At the end of his presidential term General Grant with his family and a company of personal friends set out to visit the countries of Europe and Asia. The party left Philadelphia in May of 1877. The event immediately demonstrated the fact that General Grant was regarded by the world as one of the most important personages of modern times. His procession from place to place became a constant pageant, such as was never before accorded to a private citizen of any nation of the earth. The journey of the ex-President was first through the principal cities of England, and afterwards to Belgium, Switzerland, Prussia and France. The company then made a brief stay in Italy, and from thence went by voyage to Alexandria, thence to Palestine, and afterwards to Greece. In the following year the General returned to Italy, and passed the summer in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. He then visited Austria and Russia, but returned for the winter to the south of France and Spain. In January of 1879 the party embarked for the East. The following year was spent in India, Burmah, Siam, China and Japan. In the fall of that year the company reached San Francisco, bearing the highest tokens of esteem which the nations of the Old World could bestow on the honored representative of the New.

The census of 1880 was conducted under the skillful superintendency of Professor Francis A. Walker, who had already directed the census of the previous decennium. More than ever before was the astonishing progress of the United States now revealed and illustrated. The population

had increased to 50,152,866, showing an increase for the decade of a million inhabitants a year. The population of the State of New York had risen to more than five millions. Nevada, least populous of the States, showed an enumeration of 62,265. Of the increment of population 2,246,551 had been contributed by immigration, of whom about eighty-five thousand annually came from Germany. The number of cities having a population of over a hundred thousand had increased in ten years from fourteen to twenty-five. The center of population had moved westward to a point near the city of Cincinnati.

It was at this time, namely, in 1880, that the current of the precious metals turned once more towards America. In that year the imports of specie exceeded the exports by more than seventy-five million dollars. Meanwhile abundant crops had followed in almost unbroken succession, and the overplus of American products had gone to enrich the country and to stimulate those fundamental industries upon which the nation rests.

The necrology of this epoch shows many distinguished names. Among these may be mentioned Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, who, after battling for years against the encroachments of paralysis, died at his home in Indianapolis, November 1st, 1877. The great poet William Cullen Bryant, now at the advanced age of eighty-four, passed away on the 12th of June, 1878. On the 19th of December, in the same year, the illustrious Bayard Taylor, recently appointed American Minister to the German empire, died suddenly at Berlin. On the 1st of November, 1879, Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, one of the founders of the Republican party, died, after a brief illness in Chicago. On the 24th of February, 1881, another Senator, Matthew H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, after a long sickness at Washington City, passed away.

## CHAPTER XL.

GARFIELD was the twentieth President of the United States. He was born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19th, 1831. He was left in infancy to the care of his mother and the rude surroundings of a backwoods home. There he found the rudiments of an education. Further on in youth he served as a pilot on a canal boat plying the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal. At seventeen he entered the high school in Chester, and in his twentieth year became a student at Hiram College. In that institution he was chosen as an instructor until 1854. He then went to Williams College, and from that institution was graduated with honor. Returning to Ohio, he was first a professor and afterwards president of Hiram College. This position he gave up to become a soldier at the outbreak of the Civil War. In the meantime he had studied law, imbibed a love for politics and been elected to the Senate of Ohio.

As a soldier Garfield rose through the grades of Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel and Brigadier-General, to become Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans. In that relation he bore a distinguished part in the battle of Chickamauga. While still in the field he was elected by the people of his home district to the House of Representatives, in which body he served continuously for seventeen years. In 1879 he was elected to the Senate of the United States; but before entering upon his duties was nominated and elected to the Presidency.

The inaugural address of March 4th, 1881, was a paper of high grade. A retrospect of American progress was given. The country was congratulated on its rank among the nations. The topics of politics were reviewed, and the policy of the incoming executive defined with clearness and precision. The public-school system of the United States was defended. Some kind words were spoken for the South, as if to assuage the heartburnings of the Civil War. The maintenance of the National Bank system was recommended, and the equal political rights of the Black Men of the South advocated.

The new cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; Attorney-General, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York. The nominations were at once confirmed, and the new administration was established in office.

Now arose the great question of a Reform of the Civil Service. This matter had been handed down from the administration of Hayes, under whom efforts had been made to introduce better methods of selecting persons for the appointive offices of the government. The real issue was—and has always been—whether the choice of the officials of the government should be made on the ground of the character and fitness of the candidates, or on the principle of distributing political patronage to those who had best served the party; whether men should be promoted from the lower to the higher grades of official life and retained according to the value and proficiency of their services, or whether they should be elevated to positions in

proportion to their success in carrying elections and maintaining the party in power.

The members of Congress held strongly to the old order of things, being unwilling to give up their influence over the appointive power. To them it seemed essential that the spoils should belong to the victors. President Hayes had attempted to establish the opposite policy, but near the close of his term had been driven from the field. The Republican platform of 1880 vaguely indorsed civil service reform, and some expectation existed that Garfield would attempt to promote that policy ; but the rush of office-seekers at the beginning of his term was overwhelming. Washington City was thronged by the hungry horde who had "carried the election" ; and all plans and purposes of reform in the civil service were crushed out of sight and trampled under feet of men.

This break from the declared principles of the party was soon followed by a serious political disaster. A division arose in the Republican ranks threatening disruption to the organization. Two wings of the party appeared, nicknamed respectively the "Half-breeds" and the "Stalwarts." The latter faction, headed by Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York, had recently distinguished itself by supporting General Grant for a third term in the Presidency. The Half-breeds regarded James G. Blaine, now Secretary of State, as their leader, supported and indorsed as he was by the President. The Stalwarts claimed their part of the spoils, that is, of the appointive offices of the government. The President, however, leading the professed reform element in politics, insisted on naming the officers in the various States independently of the wishes of the Congressmen therefrom.

This policy brought on a crisis. The collectorship of customs for the port of New York, being the best appointive office in the gift of the government, was contended for by

both factions. The President appointed to this position Judge William Robertson, and the appointment was antagonized by the New York Senators, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt ; but Robertson's appointment was nevertheless confirmed by the Senate, whereupon Conkling and Platt resigned their seats, returned to their State and failed of re-election. The breach became so wide as to threaten the dismemberment of the Republican party.

Just after the adjournment of the Senate, in June, President Garfield made arrangements to visit Williams College, where his two sons were to be placed as students. The President also contemplated a short vacation with his wife, who was sick at the seaside. On the morning of July 2d, accompanied by Secretary Blaine and a few friends, the President entered the Baltimore railway station at Washington, preparatory to taking the train for Long Branch, New Jersey. A moment afterwards he was approached by a miserable political miscreant named Charles Jules Guiteau, who came unseen behind the President, drew a pistol and fired upon him. The aim of the assassin was too well taken, and the second shot struck the President centrally in the right side of the back. The bleeding man was quickly borne away to the Executive Mansion and the vile criminal was hurried to prison.

The best surgical aid was at once summoned and bulletins were issued daily containing a brief account of the President's condition. After three days the conviction gained ground that he would ultimately recover. Two surgical operations were performed in the hope of saving his life ; but a series of relapses occurred, and blood-poisoning set in. The President weakened under his suffering. As a last hope, he was on the 6th of September carefully conveyed from Washington City to Elberon, where he was placed in a cottage near the surf. For a few days hope revived ; but

the patient sank away. On the eightieth day after the shot was fired, namely, on the evening of September 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Chickamauga, in which Garfield had gained his principal military reputation, his vital powers suddenly gave way, and death closed the scene. Through the whole period of his suffering he had borne the pain and anguish of his situation with the greatest fortitude and heroism. The great crime which now laid him low heightened rather than eclipsed the luster of his life.

Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President, at once took the oath of office and became President of the United States. For the fourth time in the history of the republic the duties of the chief magistracy were devolved on the second officer. As for the dead Garfield, his funeral was observed first at Washington, whither his body was taken and placed in state in the rotunda of the Capitol. Here it was viewed by tens of thousands of people on the 22d and 23d of September. The dead President had chosen Lake View Cemetery at Cleveland as the place of his burial. The remains were conveyed thither by way of Philadelphia and Pittsburg. As in the case of Lincoln's death, there was a continuous pageant on the way. The body was laid to rest on the 26th of September, the day being observed as one of mourning throughout the country.

The assassin Guiteau proved to be a half-crazy adventurer —a fool. He loudly proclaimed his deed, saying that he had shot the President in order to "remove him," and save the country! Here began the extreme unwisdom of the authorities in regard to what should be done with this crazed moral idiot. Two constructions of the case were possible: Either Guiteau was a sane man and had committed the greatest and vilest of political assassinations, or else he was a lunatic, who under the influence of an insane hallucination had shot and killed the President. Common sense,

prudence, patriotism, political sagacity and the whole array of facts regarding the prisoner's character and conduct pointed unmistakably to his lunacy and to the second construction given above. But prejudice, anger, folly, short-sightedness, newspaper sensationalism and the vengeful passions which flamed up in the excitement of the hour, conspired to establish the theory of Guiteau's sanity, with the appalling conclusion that the President of the United States *had been politically assassinated*. This theory was taken up and preached with insane ferocity until it prevailed. The voice of reason was drowned and the opportunity to save the American people from the stain of political assassination was put aside in sheer passion. Guiteau was indicted and tried for murder. During the trial the crowds around the court-house at Washington were little less than a mob. The proceedings must perforce end with a conviction and condemnation to death. Then followed a second sensational imprisonment, and on the 30th of June, 1882, Guiteau was taken from the jail and hanged.

Chester A. Arthur was a native of Franklin County, Vermont, where he was born October 5th, 1830. He was of Irish parentage, was educated at Union College, from which he was graduated in 1849. For a while he taught school in Vermont and then went to New York City to study law. He soon rose to distinction. During the Civil War he was quartermaster-general of the State of New York. In 1871 he was appointed collector of customs for the port of New York, a position which he held until 1878, when he was removed from office by President Hayes. Two years afterwards he was nominated and elected Vice-President. Then followed the killing of Garfield and the accession of Arthur to the chief magistracy.

On the 22d of September the oath of office was a *second* time administered to the new President at the Capitol by

Chief Justice Waite. Arthur delivered a brief address; but the ceremonies were few and simple. General Grant, ex-President Hayes, Senator Sherman and his brother, the General of the Army, were present and paid their respects to the President; but the circumstances forbade any elaborate or joyful display.

The members of the cabinet, in accordance with custom, at once resigned their offices. The resignations, however, were not accepted, the President inviting all the members to retain their places. For the present all the members remained except Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, who retired, and was succeeded by Judge Charles J. Folger, of New York. Mr. MacVeagh also resigned in a short time, and was succeeded by Benjamin H. Brewster, of Philadelphia. These changes were soon followed by the resignations of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and Mr. James, Postmaster-General, who gave place to Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin. Robert T. Lincoln remained, as by common consent, at the head of the Department of War. Though Garfield and Arthur had come from opposite wings of the Republican party, there was little tendency shown by the latter to revolutionize the policy of his predecessor.

Arthur's administration, however, inherited the troubles and complications of the preceding. One of the first of these was the important State trial relating to the alleged Star Route Conspiracy. There had been organized in the post-office department a class of fast mail routes known as the Star Routes, the object being to carry the mails with rapidity and certainty into distant and almost inaccessible portions of the Western States and Territories. There was a restriction as to expenditure, but the law gave the Postmaster-General a certain discretion in the matter of *expediting* such mail routes as seemed to be less efficient than the

service required. This gave to certain officers of the government the opportunity to let the contracts for many mail lines at a minimum, and then--under their discretionary power--to "expedite" the same lines into efficiency at exorbitant rates, the end and aim being to divide the spoils among the parties to the contract.

This conspiracy was unearthed before the death of Garfield, and Attorney-General MacVeagh was directed to prosecute the reputed conspirators. Indictments were found by the Grand Jury against ex-United States Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, of Arkansas; Second Assistant Postmaster-General Thomas J. Brady, of Indiana, and several others of less note. Mr. MacVeagh, however, seemed to act with little spirit and no success in the prosecution. Attorney-General Brewster then took the question up, and those indicted for conspiracy were brought to trial. After several weeks the cause went to the jury, who absurdly brought in a verdict convicting certain subordinates of participating in a conspiracy which could not have existed without the guilt of their superiors! The people, however, were angered at the scandal, and the Republican defeat in the State elections of 1882 was attributed in part to popular disgust over the Star Route Conspiracy.

## CHAPTER XLI.

WE may avail ourselves of the space here afforded to note briefly a few of the features of the progress of physical science in recent times. It has now been perceived that the sources of human happiness lie far removed from the fictitious splendors of public life. History is departing more and more from the methods of the old annalists to depict the movements of human thought and the adaptation of the physical means of amelioration and progress. It is safe to aver that the recent additions by inventive processes to the resources of physical happiness are the most striking and valuable feature of the civilization of our times. At no other age in the history of the world has a practical knowledge of the laws of nature been so widely and so rapidly diffused. At no other epoch has the subjection of natural agents to the will of man been so wonderfully displayed. The old life of the human race is giving place to a new life based on scientific research and energized by the knowledge that the conditions of our environment are as benevolent as they are unchangeable.

It has remained for American genius to solve the problem of oral communication between persons at a distance from each other. The scientists of our day, knowing the laws of sound and electricity, have devised an apparatus for transmitting the human voice to a distance of hundreds, or even thousands, of miles. The TELEPHONE must stand as a reminder to after ages of the genius and skill and progress of our country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

This instrument seems to have been the work of several ingenious minds directed to the same problem at the same time. The solution of the problem, however, should be accredited to Elisha P. Gray, of Chicago, and Alexander Graham Bell, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It should be mentioned also that Amos E. Dolbear, of Tufft's College, Massachusetts, and Thomas A. Edison, of New Jersey, likewise succeeded in solving the difficulties in the way of telephonic communication, or at least in answering practically some of the minor questions in the way of success.

The telephone is an instrument for the reproduction of sound, particularly of the human voice, by the agency of electricity, at long distances from the origin of vocal production. The phenomenon called *sound* consists of a wave agitation communicated through the particles of some medium to the organ of hearing. Every particular sound has its own physical equivalent in a system of waves in which it is written. The only thing, therefore, that is necessary in order to carry a sound in its integrity to any distance, is to transmit its physical equivalent and to re-deliver that equivalent to some organ of hearing capable of receiving it.

Upon these scientific principles the telephone has been produced. Every sound which falls upon the sheet-iron disk of the instrument communicates thereto a sort of tremor. This tremor causes the disk to approach and recede from the magnetic pole placed just behind the diaphragm. A current of electricity is thus induced, pulsates along the wire to the other end, and is delivered to the metallic disk of the second instrument many miles away just as it was produced in the first. The ear of the hearer receives from the second instrument the exact physical equivalent of the sound or sounds which were delivered

against the disk of the first instrument, and thus the utterance is received at a distance just as it was given forth.

The telephone stands to the credit of Professors Gray and Bell. Long before their day, however, some of the principles on which the instrument has been created were known. As early as 1837 the philosopher Page succeeded in transmitting musical tones to a distance. Forty years afterwards, namely, in 1877, Professor Bell, in a public lecture at Salem, Massachusetts, astonished his audience and the whole country by receiving and transmitting vocal messages from Boston, twenty miles away. Incredulity was dispelled in the face of the fact that persons far away were actually conversing with each other by means of the telephone. The experiments of Gray at Chicago, only a few days later, were equally successful. Messages between that city and Milwaukee, a distance of eighty-five miles, were plainly delivered. Nor could it be longer doubted that a new era in the means of communication had come.

The telephone was soon followed by the PHONOGRAPH. Both inventions are based on the same principle of science. The discovery that every sound has its physical equivalent in a wave or agitation led almost inevitably to the other discovery of catching, or retaining, that equivalent, or wave, in the surface of some body, and to the reproduction of the original sound therefrom.

The phonograph consists of three principal parts: the sender, or funnel-shaped tube, with its open mouthpiece, standing toward the operator; the diaphragm and stylus connected therewith, which receive the sound spoken into the tube; and the revolving cylinder, with its sheet coating of tinfoil laid over the surface of a spiral groove, to receive the indentations of the point of the stylus. The mode of operation is simple: The cylinder is revolved, and a sound thrown into the mouthpiece causes the iron disk, or dia-

phragm, to vibrate, or tremble. This agitation is carried through the stylus to the tinfoil, and written upon it in irregular marks, dots and figures. When the utterance is to be reproduced the instrument is stopped, the stylus lifted from the groove, and the cylinder revolved backwards to the place of starting. The stylus is returned to its place and the cylinder set to revolving forward. As the stylus plays up and down in the indentations, lines and figures in the tinfoil, a quiver exactly equivalent to that produced by the utterance in the mouthpiece is communicated *backwards* to the diaphragm and thrown into the air. This agitation, being the equivalent of the original sound, reproduces that sound as perfectly as the machinery of the instrument will permit. Thus the phonograph is made to talk, to sing, to cry, to utter any sound sufficiently powerful to produce a perceptible tremor in the mouthpiece and diaphragm of the instrument. The phonograph makes it possible to read *by the ear* instead of by the eye, and it is not beyond the range of probability that the book of the future will be written in phonographic plates.

Probably the most marked and valuable invention of the age is the ELECTRIC LIGHT. The introduction of this system of illumination marks an important epoch in the history of our country. The project of introducing the electric light was agitated for the first time about the beginning of the eighth decade of the century. The advantages of such lighting, could the same be attained, were as many as they were obvious. The light is so powerful as to render practicable many operations as easily by night as by day. The danger by fire from illuminating sources is almost wholly obviated by the new system. A given amount of illumination can be produced much more cheaply by electricity than by any means of gas-lighting or ordinary combustion.

Early in 1875 the philosopher Gramme, of Paris, succeeded in lighting his laboratory by means of electricity. Soon afterwards the foundry of Ducommun and Company, of Mulhouse, was similarly lighted. In the following year the apparatus for lighting by means of carbon candles was introduced in many of the factories of France and other countries of Europe.

Lighting by electricity is accomplished in several ways. In general, however, the principle by which the result is effected is one, and depends upon the resistance which the electrical current meets in its transmission through various substances. There are no perfect conductors of electricity. In proportion as the non-conductive quality is prevalent in a substance, especially in a metal, the resistance to the passage of electricity is pronounced, and the consequent disturbance among the molecular particles of the substance is great. Whenever such resistance is encountered in a circuit, the electricity is converted into heat, and when the resistance is great, the heat is, in turn, converted into light, or rather the heat becomes phenomenal in light; that is, the substance which offers the resistance glows with the transformed energy of the impeded current. Upon this simple principle all the apparatus for the production of the electric light is produced.

Among the metallic substances, the one best adapted by its low conductivity to such resistance and transformation of force is platinum. The high degree of heat necessary to fuse this metal adds to its usefulness and availability for the purpose indicated. When an electrical current is forced along a platinum wire too small to transmit the entire volume, it becomes at once heated—first to a red, and then to a white glow—and is thus made to send forth a radiance like that of the sun. Of the non-metallic elements which offer similar resistance, the best is carbon. The infusibility

of this substance renders it greatly superior to platinum for purposes of the electric light.

Near the beginning of the present century it was discovered by Sir Humphrey Davy that carbon points may be rendered incandescent by means of a powerful electric current. The discovery was fully developed in 1809, while the philosopher just referred to was experimenting with the great battery of the Royal Institution of London. He observed—rather by accident than by design, or previous anticipation—that a strong volume of electricity passing between two bits of wood charcoal produces tremendous heat, and a light like that of the sun. It appears, however, that Davy at first regarded the phenomenon rather in the nature of an interesting display of force than as a suggestion of the possibility of turning night into day.

For nearly three-quarters of a century the discovery made by Sir Humphrey Davy lay dormant among the great mass of scientific facts revealed in the laboratory. In course of time, however, the nature of the new fact began to be apprehended. The electric lamp in many forms was proposed and tried. The scientists, Niardet, Wilde, Brush, Fuller, and many others of less note, busied themselves with the work of invention. Especially did Gramme and Siemens devote their scientific genius to the work of turning to good account the knowledge now fully possessed of the transformability of the electric current into light.

The experiments of the last-named two distinguished inventors brought us to the dawn of the new era in artificial lighting. The Russian philosopher, Jablochkoff, carried the work still further by the practical introduction of the carbon candle. Other scientists—Carré, Foucault, Serrin, Rapiéff and Werdermann—had, at an earlier or later day, thrown much additional information into the common stock of knowledge relative to the illuminating possibilities of

electricity. Finally, the accumulated materials of science fell into the hands of that untutored but remarkably radical inventor, Thomas A. Edison, who gave himself with the utmost zeal to the work of removing the remaining difficulties in the problem.

Edison began his investigations in this line of invention in September of 1878, and in December of the following year gave to the public his first formal statement of the results. After many experiments with platinum, he abandoned that material in favor of the carbon-arc in *vacuo*. The latter is, indeed, the essential feature of the Edison light. A small semicircle, or horseshoe, of some substance, such as a filament of bamboo reduced to the form of pure carbon, the two ends being attached to the poles of the generating machine, or dynamo, as the engine is popularly called, is inclosed in a glass bulb from which the air has been carefully withdrawn, and is rendered incandescent by the passage of an electric current. The other important features of Edison's discovery relate to the divisibility of the current, and its control and regulation in volume by the operator. These matters were fully mastered in the Edison invention, and the apparatus rendered as completely subject to management as are other varieties of illuminating agencies.

The question of artificial light has much to do with the progress of mankind, and particularly with the government and welfare of cities. The old systems of illumination must soon give place to the splendors of the electric glow. This change in the physical conditions of society must be as marked as it is salutary. Darkness has always been the enemy of good government. The ease, happiness and comfort of the human race must be vastly multiplied by the dispelling of darkness and the distribution of light by night. The progress of civilization depends in a large measure upon a knowledge of nature's laws and a diffusion of that knowl-

edge among the people. One of the best examples ever furnished in the whole history of human progress of the results of such knowledge has been the invention of the electric light.

The bridge-building of our age furnishes another example of physical progress and amelioration. At no other time in modern history has civil engineering been turned to so good an account. The principal place among the recent public works in the United States may well be given to the great Suspension Bridge over the strait known as East River, between New York and Brooklyn. The completion and formal opening of this work occurred on the 24th of May, 1883, exciting universal attention and eliciting many descriptions.

The Brooklyn bridge is the longest and largest structure of the kind in the world. It was designed by John A. Roebling, originator of wire suspension bridges. Under his supervision and that of his son, Washington A. Roebling, the bridge was completed.\* The elder of these two eminent engineers was already known to fame as the builder of the first suspension bridge across the chasm of Niagara, and of the still greater structure of the same character across the

\* The personal history of the Roeblings, father and son, in connection with their great work, is as pathetic as it is interesting. The elder engineer was injured while laying the foundation of one of the shore-piers on the 22d of July, 1869, and died of lockjaw. W. A. Roebling then took up his father's unfinished task. He continued the work of supervision for about two years, when he was prostrated with a peculiar form of paralysis known as the "Caisson disease," from which he never fully recovered. His mental faculties, however, remained unimpaired, and he was able to direct with his eye what his hands could no longer execute. While thus prostrated, his wife developed a genius almost equal to that of her husband and her father-in-law. The palsied engineer, thus reinforced, continued for five years to furnish the plans for the work. These plans were almost all drawn by his wife, who never flagged under the tasks imposed upon her. In 1876 Roebling was partly restored to health, and lived to hear the applause which his genius and enterprise had won.

Ohio River, between Cincinnati and Covington. The Cincinnati bridge was at the time of its erection the longest by a thousand feet of any of its kind. The younger Roebling inherited his father's genius, and after the death of the latter showed himself equal to the great task imposed upon him in preparing the plans and superintending the construction of the East River bridge.

This bridge is a structure supported by four enormous wires, or cables, stretching in a single span from pier to pier a distance of 1,595 feet. From the main towers to the anchorages on either side is 930 feet; from the anchorages outward to the termini of the approaches is, on the New York side, a distance of 1,562 feet, and on the Brooklyn side 972 feet, making the total length of the bridge and approaches 5,989 feet. The total weight of the structure is 64,700 tons; the estimated capacity of support is 1,740 tons, and the ultimate resistance is calculated at 49,200 tons. The Brooklyn bridge was formally opened in May of 1883. The event drew to the metropolis the attention of the American people, and excited somewhat the admiration of foreign nations.

Perhaps the finest example of cantilever bridge in America is the great structure of that order over the Niagara River just above the village of Suspension Bridge, New York. The architect was the distinguished civil engineer, C. E. Schneider. The bridge has a total length of 910 feet, and crosses the river with a single span of 470 feet. The roadway is 239 feet above the water level in the chasm below. The materials are steel and iron. The bridge as a work of architecture is one of the most beautiful of its kind in the world.

Another notable example of recent bridge building is the new Washington bridge extending from the upper extremity of Manhattan Island across the gorge of the Harlem River

to Westchester County, on the other side. The work is regarded as the finest and grandest of its kind ever erected in America. The structure is of steel and granite and bronze. The chasm is spanned by two magnificent arches having plate girders of steel, each arch being from foot to foot a distance of 510 feet. The piers are of solid masonry, rising to the level of the roadway. The viaduct is supported on vertical posts which rise from the arches. The height of the roadway above the level of tide-water in the Harlem is 152 feet, being 40 feet in excess of the corresponding measurement under the East River suspension bridge. All of the ornamentation of the Washington bridge is of bronze. The work was constructed in 1888-89, under the direction of the eminent civil engineer William, R. Hutton.

## CHAPTER XLII.

IN civil affairs the administration of Arthur proved to be uneventful. In the domain of politics might be noted the gradual obliteration of those sharply defined issues which for the last quarter of a century had divided the two great parties. There was a healthful abatement of partisan rancor. It became each year more apparent that the questions at issue in the political arena were merely factitious—devised by those interested for the hour and the occasion. Nor might any discern in this decade how much longer this ill-founded method of political division might be maintained among the American people.

To the general fact that party questions were no longer vital and distinct there was one notable exception. The American people were from 1880 to 1892 really and sincerely divided on the question of the Tariff. Whether the true policy of the United States is that of free trade or a protective system was a fundamental issue, and the decision was long postponed. The policy of gathering immense revenues, from customs-duties during the Civil War, and in the decade thereafter, had become firmly imbedded as a factor in the industrial and commercial systems of the country. A great manufacturing interest had been stimulated into unusual, not to say inordinate, activity. Practically the political parties had become so much entangled with the finances and the industries of the country that no party discipline could withdraw and align the political forces in columns and battalions as of old. The question was funda-

mentally as ancient as the republic. Ever and anon, from the foundation of the government, the tariff issue had obtruded itself upon the attention of the people. It may not be deemed inappropriate in this connection to state and briefly elucidate the various views which have been entertained on the subject.

First, we have what is called the doctrine of Free Trade, pure and simple. The theory is, in a word, as follows: The indications of profitable industry are found in nature. The hints and suggestions of the natural world are the true indications to mankind as to how the various industries which human genius has devised are to be most profitably directed. Thus, a rich soil means agriculture. A barren soil is the indication of nature against agricultural pursuits. Beds of ore signify mining; veins of petroleum, oil-wells; a headlong river, water-power; hills of silica, glass-works; forests of pine, ship-masts and coal-tar; bays and havens and rivers, commerce. Free trade says that these things are the voice and edict of the natural world as to how human industry shall be exerted. The way to wealth, prosperity, happiness, is to follow the edict of nature whithersoever it calls. To go against nature is to go against common sense. *Laisses faire*, that is, "Let alone," is the fundamental motto of the system—hands off, and no meddling with plain conditions which are imposed on man by his environments. Let him who lives in the fecund valley till the soil and gather a hundred-fold. Let him who inhabits the rocky upland, by river-side or bed of pent-up coal, devote his energies to manufacture. Let each procure from the other by exchange the necessaries and conveniences of life which he could not himself produce but at great disadvantage, and an irrational and needless expenditure of toil. The theory continues thus: Let the producer of raw material send it near or far to the manufacturer, and receive in turn the fabric which he

must wear, even the food wherewith he must sustain his life. Why should he do otherwise? Why should either the man or the community struggle against the conditions of nature, and the immutable laws of industry, to produce the entire supply of things necessary for human comfort, convenience and welfare? It is intended that men should live together in amity; that they should mutually depend one upon the other; that each should gain from the other's genius and exertion what he is unable to procure by his own endeavor and skill. Neighbors should be at peace. Different communities should not quarrel; should not put interdicts and checks upon the natural laws of intercourse and mutual dependency. Nations should not fight. The harmonious order of civilization requires a world-wide exchange of products. Men are happier and richer, and nations are more powerful, when they give themselves freely to the laws of their environments, and toil in those fields of industry to which both their own dispositions and the benevolent finger of nature point the way.

The theory continues: All contrivances of human law which controvert or oppose these fundamental conditions of legitimate industry are false in principle and pernicious in application. If civil society assumes to direct the industries of her people against the plain indications of nature, then society becomes a tyrant. The rule of action in such case is no longer free but despotic. All laws which tend to divert the industries of a nation from those pursuits which are indicated by the natural surroundings are hurtful, selfish, self-destructive, and, in the long run, weakening and degrading to the people. A tariff duty so laid as to build up one industry at the expense of another is a piece of barbarous intermeddling with both the principles of common sense and the inherent rights of man. If free trade makes one nation dependent on another, then it also makes that

other nation dependent on the first. The one can no more afford to fight the other than the other can afford to fight it. Hence, free trade is the great economic law among the nations. It is both sound in theory and beneficial in application. Hence, a tariff for revenue only is the true principle of national action. It is the bottom economic policy of government relative to the interests of the people. Such is the general theory to which has been given the name of *Laissez faire*, but which is known among the English-speaking peoples by the more limited term Free Trade.

The first remove from the doctrines above set forth is that of Incidental Protection. The primary assumptions of this theory are more nearly identical with those of free trade than is commonly supposed. Nearly all of the propositions advanced by the free-trader are accepted as correct by the incidental protectionist. The latter, however, holds some peculiar doctrines of his own. He claims that men, as the doctrine of *Laissez faire* teaches, should labor according to the indications of nature, and that every attempt on the part of government to divert the industries of the people from one channel to another is contrary to right, reason and sound policy. But he also holds that since a tariff is the common means adopted by most of the civilized States of the world to produce the revenue whereby the expenses of government are met and sustained, the same should be so levied as to be *incidentally favorable* to those industries of the people which are placed at a natural disadvantage. He does not hold that any tariff should be levied with the intention of protecting and fostering a given industry, but that in every case the tax should be laid for public purposes only; that is, with the intention of sustaining the State, and be only incidentally directed to the protection of the weaker industry.

These last assumptions furnish the ground of political

divergence between free-traders proper and incidental protectionists. The latter take into consideration both the fundamental conditions of the argument and the peculiar character of the industries of the people. They claim that given pursuits may thus be strengthened and encouraged by legislative provisions, and that natural and political laws may be made to co-operate in varying and increasing the productive resources of the State.

The third general view relative to this question is known as the doctrine of Limited Protection. The word "limited," in the definition, has respect to a time relation. The fundamental difference between this theory and the preceding is this: The incidental protectionist denies, and the limited protectionist affirms, the wisdom of levying tariff duties with the *intention and purpose* of protecting home industries. The limited protectionist would have the legislation of the State take particular cognizance of the character and variety of the industries of the people, and would have the laws enacted with constant reference to the encouragement of the weaker—generally the manufacturing—pursuits. The doctrine of incidental protection would stop short of this; would adopt the theory of "let alone," so far as the original purpose of legislation is concerned; but would, at the same time, so shape the tariff that a needed stimulus would be given to certain industries. The limited protectionist agrees with the free-trader in certain assumptions. The former, as well as the latter, assents to the proposition that the original condition of industry is found in nature—in the environment of the laborer. But he also urges that the necessity for a varied industry is so great, so important, to the welfare and independence of a people, as to justify the deflection of human energy by law to certain pursuits, which could not be profitably followed but for the fact of protection.

This principle the limited protectionist gives as a reason for the tariff legislation which he advocates. He would make the weaker industry live and thrive by the side of the stronger. He would modify the crude rules of nature by the higher rules of human reason. He would not only adapt man to his environment, but would adapt the environment to him. He would keep in view the strength, the dignity, the independence, of the State, and would be willing to incur temporary disadvantages for the sake of permanent good. In the course of time, when, under the stimulus of a protective system, the industries of the State have become sufficiently varied and sufficiently harmonized with original conditions, he would allow the system of protective duties to expire and freedom of trade to supervene. But until that time he would insist that the weaker, but not less essential, industries of a people should be encouraged and fostered by law. He would deny the justice or economy of that system which, in a new country, boundless in natural resources, but poor in capital, would constrain the people to bend themselves to the production of a few great staples, the manufacture of which, by foreign nations, would make them rich and leave the original producers in perpetual vassalage and poverty.

The fourth general view is embodied in the theory of High Protection. In this the doctrine is boldly advanced that the bottom assumptions of free trade are specious and false. The influence of man upon his environment is so great as to make it virtually whatever the law of right reason would suggest. The suggestion of right reason is this: Every nation should be independent. Its complete sovereignty and equality should be secured by every means short of injustice. In order that a State may be independent and be able to mark out for itself a great destiny, its industries must afford employment for all the talents and

faculties of man and yield products adapted to all his wants. To devote the energies of a people to those industries *only* which are suggested by the situation and environment is to make man a slave to nature instead of nature's master. It may be sound reasoning for the people inhabiting a fertile valley to devote themselves principally to agricultural pursuits; but to do this to the exclusion of other industries is merely to narrow the energies of the race, make dependent the laborer, and finally exhaust those very powers of nature which for the present seem to suggest one pursuit and forbid all others.

The theory of high protection continues thus: It is the duty of society to build up many industries in every locality, whatever may be the environment. If nature furnishes no suggestion of blast-furnaces and iron-works, then nature must be constrained by means of human law. The production of manufactured values should be so encouraged by tariff duties as to become profitable in *all* situations. Not only should every State, but every community and every man, be made comparatively independent. Every community should be able by its own industry to supply at least the larger part of its own wants. The spindle should be *made* to turn; the forge *made* to glow; the mill-wheel *made* to turn; the engine *made* to pant; the towering furnace *made* to fling up into the darkness of midnight its volcanic glare—all this whether nature has or has not prepared the antecedents of such activity. And this cannot be accomplished, or at least not well accomplished, in any other way than by legal protection of those industries which do not flourish under the action of merely natural law. It is, in brief, the theory of the high protectionist that every community of men, by means of its own varied and independent activities, fostered and encouraged by the protective system of industries, should become in the body

politic what the ganglion is in the nerve system of man—an independent, local power, capable of originating its own action and directing its own energies.

There is still a fifth position sometimes assumed by publicists and acted on by nations. This is the doctrine and practice of Prohibitory Tariffs. The idea here is that the mutual interdependence of nations is on the whole mutually disadvantageous, and that each should be rendered wholly independent of the other. Some of the oldest peoples of the world have adopted this doctrine and policy. The Oriental nations as a rule have until recent times followed persistently the exclusive theory in their national affairs. The principle is that, if in any State or nation certain industrial conditions and powers are wanting, then those powers and conditions should be produced by means of law. Internal trade is, according to this doctrine, the principal thing and commercial intercourse with foreign States a matter of secondary or even dubious advantage. If the price of the given home product be not sufficient to stimulate its production in such quantities as to meet all the requirements of the market, then that price should be raised by means of legislation and raised again and again, until the foreign trade shall cease and home manufacture be supplied in its place.

True, there are not many of the modern peoples who now carry the doctrine of protection to this extreme. But it is also true that, in the attempt to prepare protective schedules under the system of limited or high protection, it has not infrequently happened that the tariff has been fixed at such a scale as to act as a prohibitory duty and turn aside entirely foreign commerce in the article on which the tariff is laid.

Such, then, are the fundamental principles which underlie the great controversy and furnish the issues of political

divergence in the United States. The question is as old as the beginnings of civil progress in the New World. No sooner was the present governmental system in our country instituted than the controversy broke out in the halls of legislation. Hamilton, as first Secretary of the Treasury, took the question up and adopted the policy of limited protection as that of the Federal party. He advocated this policy most ably in the papers which he sent at intervals from the Department of the Treasury. On his recommendation the second statute ever enacted by Congress under the Constitution was prepared and passed for the purpose of "providing a revenue *and affording protection to American industry.*" The very necessities which gave rise to the Constitution were those relating to commerce and interwoven with the tariff. From the beginning the question would not down. During the fourth and fifth decades of the century the leading political agitations, that is, those that were real, were produced by the revival of the tariff issue in our system. During the ascendancy of Henry Clay his "American system" became for a season the bottom principle of Whig politics.

In the ante-bellum epoch the Whig party continued to favor the protective system, while the Democratic party espoused free trade. After the Civil War the question slumbered for a season. Men forgot its import, and reckoned not that it would ever arise again to trouble party discipline. In 1880 a paragraph in the national Democratic platform was inserted—not indeed with the intention of evoking an old controversy from oblivion—which, by declaring in favor of a tariff for revenue only, unexpectedly precipitated the whole issue anew, and contributed to, perhaps determined, the defeat of the Democratic ticket. Even in those States where Democracy was in the ascendant the growth of great manufacturing establishments had brought

in a vast army of artisans, who in spite of all party affiliation refused to support a platform which, according to their belief, was calculated to impair, if not to destroy, the very business in which they were engaged.

In the ensuing quadrennium both Democrats and Republicans made strenuous efforts to align their party followers on this question, but neither was successful. The event showed that the Democrats were by no means unanimous for free trade, and that the Republicans were far from unanimity in their support of protection. Large numbers of Republican leaders whose financial interests lay in the direction of agricultural production or of commerce rather than in the line of manufactures espoused the doctrine of free trade. Never was party discipline more strained on any subject than in the presidential campaigns from 1876 to 1888. Especially during the administration of Arthur and his successor did the tariff question gather head, and the white crests of conflicting tides were seen along the whole surface of political controversy. Nor may the publicist and historian of the passing age clearly foresee the solution of the problem. One thing may be safely predicted, that the question in America will be decided, as it has already been decided in Great Britain, according to *self-interest*. No people will, in the long run, act against what it conceives to be its interest for the sake of supporting a given theory. When some party in power, whatever that party may be, shall become convinced that the interest of the United States requires the abolition of all protective duties and the substitution therefor of a system of tariff for revenue only, then, and not till then, will the *Laissez faire* theory of political economy take the place of that which has thus far prevailed as the policy of our country.

Hardly, by the crime of Garfield's murder, had the Presidency been transferred to Arthur before the issue of nam-

ing his successor was raised by the ever-busy swarm of politicians. To the calm-minded observer it appears a thing of wonder that the people of the United States have so far permitted themselves to be cajoled, hoodwinked, brow-beaten, converted into camp-followers and slaves, by the ignorant horde of interested adventurers who have arrogated to themselves the right of civil and political control over the destiny of the American republic. It can hardly be wondered that under the continuance of such a system a spirit of political pessimism has gained ground to the very verge of prevalence in the United States. Of a certainty the party newspaper has been and continues to be the abettor and agent of Kakistocracy in America. And until the reign of that evangel of evil is ended the people of the United States must continue to beat about blindly, moping and groaning under the despotism of the bad.

The year 1882 hardly furnished breathing time for the subsidence of political passion. The great army of the interested went forth to arouse the country for another contest. In this haste might be seen the symptoms of fear; for it could not be doubted that both political organizations had become alarmed lest through the failure of living issues the old combinations which had divided the country for a quarter of a century should go to pieces and leave the field to the people. But the time had not yet come for the breaking up of the political deeps, and the masses were still made to believe that the old questions were vital to the welfare of the country.

The political parties made ready for the work before them. Early in 1884 Chicago was selected as the place of both the national conventions. The Greenback-Labor party held its convention at Indianapolis in the month of April, and nominated General Butler for the Presidency, with A. M. West, of Mississippi, for the Vice-Presidency. The Re-

publican Convention met on the 3d of May, and, after a spirited session of three days' duration, nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois. The Democratic delegates assembled on the 9th of July and on the 11th completed their work by nominating Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The nominations were received with considerable enthusiasm by the respective party followings, but large factions in each party refused to support the national tickets.

With the progress of the campaign it became evident that the result must depend on the electoral votes of New York and Indiana. The preliminary counting showed the latter State for the Democrats. New York thus became the single battle-field, and there the respective parties concentrated their forces. The event proved favorable to the Democrats, though their majority in the popular vote of New York was only 1,142. This small preponderance determined the result. The vote of the Empire State went to Cleveland and Hendricks, assuring to them 219 ballots in the Electoral College against 182 votes for Blaine and Logan.

The sequel of the presidential election of this year was less happy than generally happens under like circumstances. The Republican party had been in power continuously for twenty-four years. During that time great and salutary changes had taken place in the social condition and civil polity of the American people. It was natural that the Republican leaders should claim the result as their work, when as a matter of fact it was simply the evolution of the age. The great men of that party were honest in claiming that the tremendous and beneficial changes which had passed like the shadows of great clouds over the American landscape were attributable to the long period of Republican ascendancy. To lose power, therefore, was political bitterness itself. It was only by degrees that this feeling

subsided, and that the office-holders near the close of Arthur's administration began to trim their sails with the evident hope that the breezes of civil service reform, to which the President-elect was pledged, might waft them somewhat further on the high seas of emolument.

The recurrence of the birthday of Washington, 1885, was noted for the dedication of the great monument which had been building for so many years at the capital. The erection of such a structure had been suggested as early as 1799. Nor could it well be doubted that the American people would, in due time, rear some appropriate memorial to the Father of his Country. The work was not undertaken, however, until 1835. In that year an organization was effected to promote the enterprise. But for a long time after the beginning, the work of building lagged, and it was not until Congress, taunted at last into action by the animadversions of the press and people, undertook the prosecution of the enterprise that it was brought to completion.

The cost of the Washington Monument was about \$1,500,000. It stands on the left bank of the Potomac, in the southern outskirts of Washington City. The structure was, at the time of its erection, the highest in the world. The shaft proper, without reckoning the foundation, is 555 feet in height, being thirty feet higher than the Cathedral at Cologne, and seventy-five feet higher than the pyramid of Cheops in its present condition. The great obelisk is composed of more than eighteen thousand blocks of stone. They are mostly of white marble, and weigh several tons each. One hundred and eighty-one memorial stones, contributed by the different States of the Union and by friendly foreign nations, are set at various places in the structure.

The dedication of the monument occurred on Saturday,

the 21st of February. The ceremonies were of the most imposing character. A procession of more than six thousand persons marched from the base of the monument, along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol, while salutes were fired from the batteries of the navy yard. At the Capitol the procession was reviewed by the President of the United States. The concluding ceremonies were held in the House of Representatives, where a great throng of distinguished people had assembled—not so much to do honor to the occasion as to be honored by it. The principal oration, written by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, as well as the less formal addresses of the day, was well worthy of the event, and calculated to add—if aught could add—to the fame of him who was “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.”

## CHAPTER XLIII.

GROVER CLEVELAND, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. Three years afterwards he was taken by his father and mother to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, New York. Here, in his boyhood, he received such limited education as the schools of the place afforded. For a while in his youth he was clerk in a village store. Afterwards the family removed first to Clinton and then to Holland Patent. At the latter place his father died, and young Cleveland, left to his own resources, went to New York and became a teacher in an asylum for the blind. After a short time, however, the young man, finding such pursuits uncongenial to his tastes, went to Buffalo and engaged in the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1859, and, four years afterwards, began his public career as Assistant District Attorney. In 1869 he was elected Sheriff of Erie County, and in 1881 was chosen Mayor of Buffalo. His next promotion by his fellow-citizens was to the governorship of New York, to which position he was elected in 1882, by the astonishing majority of 192,854—the majority being perhaps unparalleled in the history of American elections. It was while he still held this office that, in July of 1884, he was nominated by the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States.

Much interest was manifested by the public in the constitution of the new Cabinet. On the day following the inauguration the nominations were sent to the Senate, and

were as follows: For Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; for Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; for Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; for Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; for Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; for Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; for Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas. The peculiarity of the appointments was that two of them were from New York. But the prejudice which might arise on this account was fully counterbalanced by the high character and undoubted abilities of the men whom the President had chosen as the responsible advisers of his administration.

At the beginning of his administration the President was confronted with the irrepressible question of the distribution of patronage. His party had come into power on a platform declaring for civil-service reform. Of late years the political opinion of the country had begun to turn with disgust from the gross practice of rewarding men for mere party services. In the evenly balanced presidential contests of 1880 and 1884 it became all-important to conciliate, at least by profession, the growing phalanx of civil-service reformers. They it was to whom Cleveland owed his election; for they accepted his pledges and principles. Their views and the President's were in accord, and the new administration was launched with civil-service reform inscribed on its pennon.

The event showed, however, that the Democratic party was not equal to its pledges and not up to the President's level of principle. It was clear that the Democratic leaders had in large part upheld the banner of civil service merely as an expedient. The President's sincere attempt to enforce the principles of the party platform by an *actual* reform became appalling to the captain-generals of his party. To them the declaration in favor of a new and better sys-

tem was purely nominal. They made a rush to gather the spoils of victory, and were astounded that the Chief Magistrate should presume to refuse them. From the outset it was a grave question whether the President would be able to stand by the flag of reform or rather be driven to re-adopt the cast-off system of spoils.

It was a peculiarity of this epoch that the deeds and memories of the Civil War revived in public interests. The circumstance was attributable perhaps to the fact that the great men of that conflict now entered the shadows of old age and became talkative about the stirring exploits of their youth and manhood. Now it was that the series of authoritative publications concerning the war for the Union, written by the leading participants, began to appear. This work, so important to a true knowledge of the great struggle for and against the Union, was begun by General William T. Sherman, who in 1875 published his *Memoirs* narrating the story of that part of the war in which he had been a leader. This publication had indeed been preceded by some years by that of Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy, who in 1870 completed his two volumes entitled *The War between the States*. In 1884 General Grant began the publication, in the *Century Magazine*, of a series of war articles which attracted universal attention, and which led to the preparation and issuance of his *Memoirs* in 1885-6. Similar contributions by many other eminent commanders of the Union and Confederate armies followed in succession, until a large literature of the Civil War was left on record for the instruction of after times.

The interest in these publications was heightened by the death within a limited period of a large number of the great generals who had led armies in the war for the Union. It was early in the summer of 1885 that the attention of the people was called away from public affairs by the an-

nouncement that the veteran General Ulysses S. Grant had been stricken with a fatal malady ; that his days would be few among the living. The hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox sank under the ravages of a malignant cancer which had fixed itself in his throat, and on the 23d of July he died quietly at a summer cottage on Mount McGregor, New York. For some months the silent hero, who had commanded the combined armies of the United States, had been engaged in the pathetic work of bringing to completion his two volumes of *Memoirs*, from the sale of which —such is the gratitude of republics—the resources of his family must be chiefly drawn. It was a race, with death for the goal. Scarcely had the enfeebled general laid down his pencil until the enemy knocked at the door.

The last days of Grant were hallowed by the sympathies of the nation which he had so gloriously defended. The news of his death passed over the land like the shadow of a great cloud. Almost every city and hamlet showed in some appropriate way its emblems of grief. The funeral ceremonies equaled, if they did not surpass, any which have ever been witnessed. The procession in New York City was perhaps the most solemn, elaborate and imposing pageant ever exhibited in honor of the dead, at least since the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. On August 8th, 1885, the body of General Grant was laid to rest in Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson. There, on a summit from which may be seen the great river and the metropolis of the nation, is the tomb of him whose courage and magnanimity in war will forever give him rank with the few master spirits who, by their heroic deeds, have honored the human race, and by their genius have changed somewhat the course of history.

The enterprise of rearing a suitable monument to General Grant was delayed by untoward circumstances. The gen-

eral had himself designated Riverside Park as his last resting-place. Soon after his death a Monument Commission was organized in New York City, and subscriptions taken, but the work lagged. The question of removing his remains to Washington City was once and again agitated. At length, however, the Commission was reorganized, with General Horace Porter as chairman. From that time the enterprise was pressed, and on the 27th day of April, 1892, the corner-stone of what is destined to be the most elaborate and artistic mausoleum in the New World was laid. The oration of the occasion was delivered by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, of New York.

The death of General Grant was quickly followed by that of another distinguished Union commander. On the 29th of October, 1885, General George B. McClellan, organizer of the Army of the Potomac, at one time general-in-chief, subsequently Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and at a later period governor of New Jersey, died at his home in St. Cloud, in that State. The conspicuous part borne by him during the first two years of the war, his eminent abilities as a soldier and civilian, his unblemished character as a citizen, heightened the popular estimate of his life, and evoked the sincerest expressions of national sorrow for his death.\*

The next great Union commander to pass away was General Winfield S. Hancock. This brave and generous officer was at the time of his death senior major-general of the American army. Always a favorite with the people and the soldiers, he had, since the close of the war, occupied a conspicuous place before the public. In 1880 he was the

\* The posthumous publication of McClellan's *Own Story*, under the auspices of his bereaved wife, is on the whole to be regretted. As a contribution to the military and civil history of the time, the work is valuable; but to McClellan's memory the book is damaging. In a few matters the civilians in authority over McClellan (but not Lincoln) are put on the defensive; but, taken altogether, the apology mars the General's fame.

Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and, though defeated by General Garfield, the defeat was without dishonor. His death, which occurred at his home on Governor's Island on the 9th of February, 1886, was universally deplored, and the people omitted no mark of respect for the memory of him who, in the great struggle for the preservation of the Union, had won the title of "Hero of Gettysburg." Thus have passed away the gallant generals of the Army of the Potomac. George B. McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade and Winfield S. Hancock have, one by one, joined

"The innumerable caravan that moves  
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take  
His chamber in the silent halls of Death."

In 1886 General John A. Logan, Senator of the United States from Illinois, sickened and died at his home called Calumet Place, in Washington City. His career had been distinguished in the highest degree. At the outbreak of the Civil War few men did more than Logan to strengthen the Union sentiment in the wavering Border States. Resigning his seat in Congress, he joined the first advance, and fought as a private at Bull Run. Without previous military training, he rose rapidly to distinction, and became *par excellence* the volunteer general in the war for the Union. He returned to political life, and was chosen to the United States Senate. He remained at his post until his death, passing away with unmistakable evidences of the enduring place which he had won in the affections of the American people.

Meanwhile a distinguished civilian had fallen from high office. On November 25th, 1885, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, after an illness of but a single day, died suddenly at his home in Indianapolis. Not a moment's warning was given of the approach of the fatal paralysis. The

life of Hendricks had been one of singular purity, and the amenities of his character had been conspicuous in the stormy arena of American politics. The body of the dead statesman was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, near Indianapolis, the funeral pageant surpassing in grandeur and solemnity any other display of the kind ever witnessed in the Western States, except the funeral of Lincoln.

The next distinguished citizen to pass away was Horatio Seymour, of New York. On the 12th of February, 1886, this noted leader and politician, who had been governor of the Empire State, and Democratic candidate for the Presidency against General Grant, died at his home in Utica. He had reached the age of seventy-six, and though living in retirement, never ceased to hold a large share of the attention of his fellow-citizens.

Much more eminent than he, however, was Samuel J. Tilden, who died at his home called Greystone, at Yonkers, near New York City, on the 4th of August, 1886. Tilden had lived to make a marked impression on the political thought of the epoch. His intellect was of the highest order, and his attainments unquestionable. At the time of his death he was in the seventy-third year of his age. For forty years he had been a prominent figure in his own State and before the nation. In 1870-71 he was among the foremost in unearthing the astounding frauds and robberies which had been perpetrated on the city treasury of New York. In the following year he was sent to the General Assembly, where his services were invaluable. In 1874 he was elected governor of New York by a majority of more than fifty thousand votes.

In the executive office Tilden was one of the ablest men who ever occupied the gubernatorial chair of the State. In 1876 he came marvelously near reaching the Presidency. The popular vote was largely in his favor, and the ma-

jority in the Electoral College was lost through the superior tactics of the leaders of the party in power. Neither Tilden nor Hayes was clearly elected, the Democrats having carried two or three States with the shot-gun, and the Republicans, by the aid of the Electoral Commission, having "counted in" one or two States which they did not carry at all. Tilden in private life continued to guide the counsels of his party. In 1880 he would have been renominated but for the enfeebled condition of his health. One of his ablest—as it was his last—public papers was a general letter on "The Coast and Harbor Defenses of the United States," a publication which led to the legislation of the Forty-ninth Congress on that important subject.

To this mortuary list of military heroes and great civilians must be added the illustrious name of Henry Ward Beecher. To him, with little reservation, we may assign the first place among our orators and philanthropists. Nor is it likely that his equal in most of the sublime qualities of energy and manhood will soon be seen again on the stage of life. His personality was so large, so unique and striking, as to constitute the man in some sense *sui generis*. His kind is rare in the world, and the circumstances which aided in his development have passed away. That fact in American history—the institution of slavery—which brought out and displayed the higher moods of his anger and stormy eloquence, cannot again arouse the indignation of genius. The knight and his dangerous foil sleep together in the dust.

Mr. Beecher had the happy fortune to retain his faculties unimpaired to the very close of his career. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1887, at his home in Brooklyn, surrounded by his family, without premonition or portent, the message came by apoplexy. An artery broke in that magnificent heavy brain that had been for more than forty years one of the greatest batteries of thought and action in the

world ; and the aged orator, nearing the close of his seventy-fourth year, sank into that deep sleep from which no power on earth could wake him. He lived until the morning of the 8th, and quietly entered the shadows. The sentiments awakened by his death, the circumstances of his sepulture, and the common eulogium of mankind, proved beyond doubt the supreme place which he had occupied in the admiring esteem, not only of his countrymen, but of all the great peoples of the world.

In order of occurrence the next two deaths of men of national reputation were those of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and ex-Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York. The former died at his home in Washington City on the 23d of March, 1888. The Chief Justice was a native of Lyme, Connecticut ; born on the 29th of November, 1816. His education was first of the public school and afterwards of Yale College, from which he was graduated in 1837. He became a student of law, removed to Ohio, and practiced his profession at Maumee City. In 1849 he entered public life, serving in the legislature of the State. He then made his home at Toledo, where he remained in the practice of his profession until he was called by General Grant to sit at the head of the Supreme Bench of the United States. Meanwhile he had served as a member of the Board of Arbitration sitting at Geneva for the adjudication of the Alabama claims. He brought to the office of Chief Justice a character, talents and attainments equal to the responsibilities of the position. The death of Waite may well suggest a brief notice of that Great Court over which he presided during the last fourteen years of his life.

In the formation of the Constitution of the United States, it was intended that the three General Departments of the government should be of correlative rank and influence,

The sequel, however, as developed in the actual working of our national system, has shown that the executive and legislative departments predominate, naturally,—perhaps inevitably,—over the judicial branch, and that, in the popular estimate at least, the Supreme Court is of small importance as compared with the Presidency and the two Houses of Congress.

This disesteem of the judiciary is not verified by a broader and more philosophical view on the subject. The importance, especially, of the conservative opinion of our great National Court in determining, at least negatively, the final validity of all legislation and all subordinate judicial decisions, can hardly be over-estimated. The same may be said of the Supreme Bench considered as the only immovable breakwater against the unscrupulous and rampant spirit of party. It is fortunate that the offices of our Chief Justice and of the Associate Justices are *appointive*, and are thus removed, in great measure, from the perfidy of the convention and the passion of a partisan election.

It may be of interest to glance for a moment at some of the vicissitudes through which the Supreme Court has passed since its organization in 1789. The court was then instituted by the appointment of John Jay as Chief Justice, who held the office until 1796, when he gave place to Oliver Ellsworth. The latter remained in office until, in 1800, the infirmities of age compelled his resignation. Then came the long and honorable ascendancy of Chief Justice John Marshall, who presided over the court from his appointment in 1801 to his death in 1835. This was the Golden Age of the American Supreme Court. From 1835 to 1837 there was an interregnum in the Chief Justiceship, occasioned by the disagreement of President Jackson and the Senate of the United States. But in the latter year the President secured the confirmation of Judge Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice,

who entered upon his long term of twenty-seven years. It was his celebrated decision in case of the negro Dred Scott, relative to the status of the slave-race in America, that applied the torch to that immense heap of combustibles whose explosion was the Civil War.

After the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1864, President Lincoln appointed, as his successor, Salmon P. Chase, recently Secretary of the Treasury, and author of most of the financial measures and expedients by which the national credit had been buoyed up and preserved during the Rebellion. His official term extended to his death, in 1873, and covered the period when the important issues arising from the Civil War were under adjudication. To Chief Justice Chase fell also, by virtue of his office, the duty of presiding at the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. In 1874 the appointment of Morrison R. Waite as Chief Justice was made by President Grant.

The death of Chief Justice Waite made way for the return to the supreme judicial office in the United States of some member of the political party which had long been out of power. Since the epoch of the Civil War the court had been filled almost exclusively with judges who, by political affiliation, belonged to the Republican party. The first distinctly Democratic appointment which was made in the last quarter of a century was the recent one of Judge Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who, by the nomination of President Cleveland, was transferred from the Secretaryship of the Interior to the Supreme Bench. It thus happened, in the vicissitude of things, that the two political theories which were opposed to each other in the War for the Union, and are still opposed by party name, became confluent in the High Court of the Nation. This circumstance was to some a source of alarm and prejudice ; but the fear was not well founded. Partisan dispositions are less potent and danger-

ous—if, indeed, they assert themselves at all—on the Supreme Bench of the United States. Thus far in its history the court has, as a rule, been as pure in its administration and methods as it has been great in reputation. The muddy waters of party conflict have only occasionally reached as high as the chambers of our honored tribunal; and the fear that it may be otherwise hereafter may hopefully be put aside as a groundless and spectral chimera of the hour. On May 1st, 1888, the President appointed Judge Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, to the vacant Chief Justiceship.

The impression produced by the death of Chief Justice Waite had scarcely passed when the decease of another citizen, most noted for high character and great talents, called the public attention to the rapid disappearance of the nation's most distinguished representatives. On the 18th of April, at the Hoffman House, New York City, Honorable Roscoe Conkling, ex-Senator of the United States, died after a brief and painful illness. A local inflammation, resulting in the formation of a pus-sack under the mastoid bone of the skull, led to the cutting of the skull in hope of saving Mr. Conkling's life; but he succumbed to the fatal malady and the shock of the operation.

Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, New York, on the 30th of October, 1829. After the completion of an academic course of study, he went as a student of law to Utica, in 1846. On reaching his majority he was admitted to the bar, and was soon afterward appointed to the office of County Attorney. From the beginning of his career his great talents and remarkable force of character were manifest. He made a profound impression, first upon the local, and then upon the general society of New York. In 1858 he was mayor of Utica, and in the same year was sent to the National House of Representatives. He had already become an able politician, and was soon recognized as the

leader of the Republican party in his native State. His rise was rapid, and his influence became marked in the affairs of the government. He served for six years in the Lower House, and in 1866 was elected to the Senate. In that body he aspired to leadership, and gradually attained it, though not without many struggles and contests with the great men of the epoch. He was twice re-elected Senator—in 1872 and 1878; but in the third term, namely, in 1881, he found himself in such relations with the Garfield Administration as induced him to resign his seat. This step was regarded by many as the mistake of his political life. At any rate he failed of a re-election, the Administration party getting control of the Legislature of New York, and sending another in his place. After this, Mr. Conkling retired to private life, and took up with great success the practice of his profession in New York City.

Roscoe Conkling was a man of the highest courage and stanchest convictions. He never shone to greater advantage than when leading the forces of General Grant in the Chicago Convention of 1880. He was a born political general. His will and persistency and pride gave him a power which, if it had been tempered with greater urbanity, could hardly have failed to crown his life with the highest honors of the nation. His talents rose to the region of genius, and his presence was magnificent—an inspiration to his friends, a terror to his enemies. As a summary of the results of his career, it may be said that, at the time of his death, none except his eminent rival, Mr. Blaine, might successfully contest with him the proud rank of the most distinguished private citizen of the United States.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

IN the spring of 1886 had occurred one of the most serious labor agitations which had ever been witnessed in the United States. It were difficult to present an adequate statement of the causes, general and special, which produced these alarming troubles. Not until after the close of the Civil War did there appear the first symptoms of a renewal, in the New World, of the struggle which has been going on for so long a time in Europe between the laboring classes and the capitalists. It had been hoped that such a conflict would never be renewed in the countries west of the Atlantic. Such a hope, however, was doomed to disappointment. The first well-marked symptoms of the appearance of serious labor strikes and insurrections occurred as early as 1867. The origin of these difficulties was in the coal and iron producing regions of Pennsylvania and in some of the great manufactories of New England. For a while the disturbances produced but little alarm. It was not until the great railroad strike of 1877 that a general apprehension was excited with respect to the unfriendly relations of labor and capital. In the following year much uneasiness existed; but the better times, extending from 1879 to 1882, with the consequent favorable rate of wages, tended to remove, or at least to postpone, the renewal of trouble.

A series of bad crops ensued, and the average ability of the people to purchase was correspondingly diminished. The speculative mania, however, did not cease, and the

large amounts of capital withdrawn from legitimate production and lost in visionary enterprises still further reduced the means of employing labor. Stagnation ensued in business; stocks declined in value, manufactories were closed, and the difficulty of obtaining employment was greatly increased.

While these causes—half-natural, half-artificial—were at work, others, wholly fictitious, but powerful in their evil results, began to operate in the creation of strife and animosity. Monopolies grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown in the United States. On the other hand, labor discovered the salutary but dangerous power of combination. A rage for organizing took possession of the minds of the laboring men of the country, and to the arrogant face of monopoly was opposed the insurrectionary front of the working classes.

More serious still than the causes here referred to was the introduction into the United States of a large mass of ignorant foreign labor. The worst elements of several European States contributed freely to the manufactories and workshops of America, and a class of ideas utterly un-American became dominant in many of the leading establishments of the country. Communistic theories of society and anarchistic views of government began to clash with the more sober republican opinions and practices of the people. To all this must be added the evils and abuses which seem to be incident to the wage-system of labor, and are, perhaps, inseparable therefrom. The result has been a growing jealousy of the two great parties to production, the laborer and the capitalist.

The opening of trade for the season of 1886 witnessed a series of strikes and labor imbroglios in all parts of the country. Such troubles were, however, confined for the most part to the cities and towns where labor was aggre-

gated. The first serious trouble occurred on what is known as the Gould System of railways, reaching from the Mississippi to the Southwest. A single workman, belonging to the Knights of Labor, and employed on a branch of the Texas and Pacific railway, at that time under a receivership, and therefore beyond the control of Jay Gould and his subordinates, was discharged from his place. This action was resented by the Knights, and the laborers on a great part of the Gould System were ordered to strike. The movement was, for a season, successful, and the transportation of freights from St. Louis to the Southwest ceased. Gradually, however, other workmen were substituted for the striking Knights; the movement of freights was resumed, and the strike ended in a comparative failure; but this end was not reached until a severe riot in East St. Louis had occasioned the sacrifice of several innocent lives.

Far more alarming was the outbreak in Chicago. In that city the socialistic and anarchistic elements were sufficiently powerful to present a bold front to the authorities. Processions bearing red flags and banners with communistic devices and mottoes frequently paraded the streets, and were addressed by demagogues who avowed themselves the open enemies of society and the existing order. On the 4th of May, 1886, a vast crowd of this reckless material collected in a place called the Haymarket, and were about to begin the usual inflammatory proceedings, when a band of policemen, mostly officers, drew near, with the evident purpose of controlling or dispersing the meeting.

A terrible scene ensued. Dynamite bombs were thrown from the crowd and exploded among the officers, several of whom were blown to pieces and others shockingly mangled. The mob was, in turn, attacked by the police, and many of the insurgents were shot down. Order was presently restored in the city; several of the leading Anarchists were

arrested, brought to trial, condemned and executed on the charge of inciting to murder. Many precautionary measures were also taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as had been witnessed in the Haymarket Square. On the following day a similar, though less dangerous, outbreak occurred in Milwaukee; but in this city the insurrectionary movement was suppressed without serious loss of life. The attention of the American people—let us hope to some good end—was recalled, as never before, to the dangerous relations existing between the upper and nether sides of our municipal populations.

The summer of 1886 was memorable in American annals, on account of that great natural phenomenon known as the Charleston Earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at ten minutes before ten o'clock, it was discovered at Washington City, and at several other points where weather and signal stations were established, that communication with Charleston, South Carolina, was suddenly cut off. The discovery was made by inquiries relative to the origin of a shock which had that moment been felt, with varying degrees of violence, throughout nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. In a few minutes it was found that no telegraphic communication from any side could be had with Charleston, and it was at once perceived that that city had suffered from the convulsion. Measures were hastily devised for further investigation, and the result showed that the worst apprehensions were verified. Without a moment's warning the city had been rocked and rent to its very foundations. Hardly a building in the limits of Charleston, or in the country surrounding, had escaped serious injury, and perhaps one-half of all were in a state of semi-wreck or total ruin. With the exception of the great earthquake of New Madrid, in 1811, no other such scene of devastation and

terror had ever been witnessed within the limits of the United States.

Many scientists of national reputation hurried to the scene, and made a careful scrutiny of the phenomena, with a view of contributing something to the exact knowledge of mankind respecting the causes and character of earthquakes. A few facts and principles were determined with tolerable accuracy. One was, that the point of origin, called the *epicenter*, of the great convulsion had been at a place about twenty miles from Charleston, and that the motion of the earth immediately over this center had been nearly up and down—that is, vertical. A second point, tolerably well established, was that the isoseismic lines, or lines of equal disturbance, might be drawn around the epicenter in circles very nearly concentric, and that the circle of greatest disturbance was at some distance from the center. Still a third item of knowledge tolerably well established was that away from the epicenter—as illustrated in the ruins of Charleston—the agitation of the earth was not in the nature of a single shock or convulsion, as a dropping or sliding of the region to one side, but rather a series of very quick and violent oscillations, by which the central country of the disturbance was, in the course of some five minutes, settled somewhat to seaward.

The whole coast in the central region of the shock was modified with respect to the sea, and the ocean itself was thrown into turmoil for leagues from the shore. The people of the city were in a state of the utmost consternation. They fled from their falling houses to the public squares and parks and far into the country. Afraid to return into the ruins, they threw up tents and light booths for protection, and abode for weeks away from their homes.

The disaster to Charleston served to bring out some of the better qualities of our civilization. Assistance came

from all quarters, and contributions poured in for the support and encouragement of the afflicted people. For several weeks a series of diminishing shocks continued to terrify the citizens and paralyze the efforts at restoration. But it was discovered in the course of time that these shocks were only the dying away of the great convulsion, and that they gave cause for hope of entire cessation rather than continued alarm. In the lapse of a few months the *débris* was cleared away, business was resumed, and the people were again safe in their homes.

On the 4th of March, 1887, the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress expired by statutory limitation. The work of the body had not been so fruitful of results as had been desired and anticipated by the friends of the government; but some important legislation had been effected. On the question of the tariff nothing of value was accomplished. True, a serious measure of revenue reform had been brought forward at an early date in the session, but owing to the opposition of that wing of the Democratic party headed by Samuel J. Randall, and committed to the doctrine of protection, as well as to the antagonism of the Republican majority in the Senate, the act failed of adoption. In fact, by the beginning of 1887, it had become apparent that the existing political parties could not be forced to align on the issue of free trade and tariff, and as a result no legislation looking to any actual reform in the current revenue system of the United States could be carried through Congress.

On the question of extending the Pension List, however, the case was different. A great majority of both parties could always be counted on to favor such measures as looked to the increase of benefits to the soldiers. At the first only a limited number of pensions had been granted, and these only to actually disabled and injured veterans of

the War for the Union. With the lapse of time, however, and the relaxation of party allegiance, it became more and more important to each of the parties to secure and hold the soldier vote, without which it was felt that neither could maintain ascendancy in the government. Nor can it be denied that genuine patriotic sentiment and gratitude of the nation to its defenders coincided in this respect with political ambition and selfishness. The Arrears of Pensions Act, making up to those who were already recipients of pensions such amounts as would have accrued if the benefit had dated from the time of disability, instead of from the time of granting the pension, was passed in 1879, and, at the same time, the list of beneficiaries was greatly enlarged.

The measure presented in the Forty-ninth Congress was designed to extend the Pension List so as to include all regularly enlisted and honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War, who had become, in whole or in part, dependent upon the aid of others for their maintenance and welfare. The measure was known as the Dependent Pensions Bill, and though many opposed the enactment of a law which appeared to fling away the bounty of the government to the deserving and undeserving, the evil and the just alike, yet a majority was easily obtained for the measure in both Houses, and the act was passed. President Cleveland, however, interposed his veto, and the proposed law fell to the ground. An effort was made in the House of Representatives to pass the bill over the veto, but the movement failed.

By far the most important and noted piece of legislation of the session was embodied in the act known as the Interstate Commerce Bill. For some fifteen years complaints against the methods and management of the railways of the United States had been heard on many sides, and in cases not a few the complaints had originated in actual abuses,

some of which were willful, but most were merely incidental to the development of a system so vast and, on the whole, so beneficial to the public. In such a state of affairs the lasting benefit is always forgotten in the accidental hurt. That large class of people who, in despite of the teachings of history, still believe in the cure of all things by law, and that mankind are always about to perish for want of more legislation, became clamorous in their demand that Congress should take the railways by the throat and compel them to accept what may be called the system of uniformity as it respects all charges for service rendered.

It must be borne in mind that in the very nature of things railways are unable to carry freight at as small a rate per hundred, or passengers at as small a charge per mile, between places approximate as between places at great distances. It must be remembered, also, that in some regions it is many times more expensive to build and operate a road than in others. To carry one of these great thoroughfares over the Rocky Mountains is a very different thing from stretching a similar track across the level prairies of Illinois. It must still further be considered that, in the nature of the case, competition will do its legitimate and inevitable work at an earlier date and more thoroughly between great cities, even when remotely situated, than between unimportant points, however near together. The traffic and travel between two villages is not sufficient to create competition among carriers. It is as absurd to suppose that railway tariffs can be the same between New York and Chicago as they are between two Missouri towns as it is to suppose that butter can command the same price in an Iowa village that it does in the Quincy Market of Boston. What should be said of an attempt in Congress to make the price of wheat and pork uniform throughout the United States?

The Interstate Commerce Bill was conceived against all

the natural, manifest and undeniable principles of the commercial world. It was passed with the belief that all discriminations in the charges made by railways doing business in more than one State could be prevented by law. It was passed as if to amend or abrogate those natural laws of trade and traffic which, in their kind, are as absolute and beneficial as the law of gravitation. It was passed with the ulterior design of securing to its promoters the support of that ignorant and imbibited race of men whose prejudices are out of all porportion to their knowledge of human rights, or their recognition of the paramount interests of the whole people. It was passed under the pernicious anti-democratic theory of governmental paternalism, which says that men are infants or imbeciles, unable to care for themselves unless they are fed and led and coddled by some motherly government, of which they are the irresponsible offspring. It is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress was so diffiult of application, or was so barren of results with respect to the interests which it was intended to promote. Disorder was the first-born of the Interstate Commerce Bill, and its last offspring was—Apathy.

During the whole of Cleveland's Administration the public mind was swayed and excited by the movements of politics. The universality of partisan newspapers, the combination in their columns of all the news of the world with the invectives, misrepresentations and counter-charges of party leaders, kept political questions constantly uppermost, to the detriment of social progress and industrial interests. Scarcely had President Cleveland entered upon his office as Chief Magistrate when the question of succession to the Presidency was agitated. The echoes of the election of 1884 had not died away before the rising murmur of 1888 was heard.

By the last year of the current Administration it was seen that there would be no general break-up of the existing parties. It was also perceived that the issues between them must be *made*, rather than found in the existing state of affairs. The sentiment in the United States in favor of the constitutional prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors had become somewhat extended and intensified since the last quadrennial election. But the discerning eye might perceive that the real issue was between the Republican and Democratic parties, and that the questions involved were to be rather those of the past than of the future.

One issue, however, presented itself which had a living and practical relation to affairs, and that was the question of Protection to American Industry. Since the campaign of 1884, the agitation had been gradually extended. At the opening of the session in 1887, the President, in his annual message to Congress, departed from all precedent, and devoted the whole document to the discussion of the single question of a *Reform of the Revenue System of the United States*. The existing rates of duty on imported articles of commerce had so greatly augmented the income of the government that a large surplus had accumulated, and was still accumulating, in the national treasury. This fact was made the basis of the President's argument in favor of a new system of revenue, or, at least, an ample reduction in the tariff rates under the old. It was immediately charged by the Republicans that the project in question meant the substitution of the system of free trade in the United States, as against the system of protective duties. The question thus involved was made the bottom issue in the presidential campaign of 1888.

As to the nominees of the various parties, it was from the first a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cleveland would be

nominated for re-election by the Democrats. The result justified the expectation. The Democratic National Convention was held in St. Louis, on the 5th day of June, 1888, and Mr. Cleveland was renominated by acclamation. For the vice-presidential nomination there was a considerable contest; but after some balloting the choice fell on ex-Senator Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, on the 19th day of June. Many candidates were ardently pressed upon the body, and the contest was long and spirited. It was believed up to the time of the convention that James G. Blaine, who was evidently the favorite of the great majority, would be again nominated for the Presidency. But the antagonisms against that statesman in his own party were thought to make it inexpedient to bring him forward again as the nominee. His name was accordingly—at his own request—not presented to the convention. The most prominent candidates were Senator John Sherman, of Ohio; Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; ex-Governor Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. The voting was continued to the eighth ballot, when the choice fell upon Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. In the evening, Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the first ballot.

In the meantime, the Prohibition party had held its National Convention at Indianapolis, and on the 30th of May had nominated for the Presidency General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and for the Vice-Presidency John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system of the United States, and reaffirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports, with strict regard to the actual needs of governmental expenditure.

The Republican platform declared also for a reform of the tariff schedule, but at the same time stoutly affirmed the maintenance of the protective system, as such, as a part of the permanent policy of the United States. Both parties deferred to the patriotic sentiment of the country in favor of the soldiers, their rights and interests, and both endeavored, by the usual incidental circumstances of the hour, to gain the advantage of the other before the American people. The Prohibitionists entered the campaign on the distinct proposition that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States by constitutional amendment. To this was added a clause in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women.

As the canvass progressed during the summer and autumn of 1888, it became evident that the result was in doubt. The contest was exceedingly close. As in 1880 and 1884, the critical States were New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana. In all of the other Northern States the Republicans were almost certain to win, while the Democrats were equally certain of success in all the South. In the last weeks of the campaign, General Harrison grew in favor, and his party gained perceptibly to the close. The result showed success for the Republican candidate. He received two hundred and thirty-three electoral votes, against one hundred and sixty-eight votes for Cleveland. The latter, however, appeared to a better advantage on the popular count, having a considerable majority over General Harrison. General Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly three hundred thousand votes, but under the system of voting no electoral vote of any State was obtained for him in the so-called "College" by which the actual choice is made. As soon as the result was known the excitement attendant upon the campaign subsided and political questions gave place to other interests.

The last days of Cleveland's Administration and of the Fiftieth Congress were signalized by the admission into the Union of four new States, making the number forty-two. Since the incoming of Colorado, in 1876, no State had been added to the republic. Meanwhile the tremendous tides of population had continued to flow to the West and Northwest, rapidly filling up the great territories. Of these the greatest was Dakota, with its area of one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and thirty-two square miles. In 1887 the question of dividing the territory by a line running east and west was agitated, and the measure finally prevailed. Steps were taken by the people of both sections for admission into the Union. Montana, with her one hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-six square miles of territory, had meanwhile acquired a sufficient population; and Washington Territory, with its area of sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four square miles, also knocked for admission. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed raising all these four territories—South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Washington—to the plane of Statehood. The Act contemplated the adoption of State constitutions and a proclamation of admission by the next President. It thus happened that the honor of bringing in this great addition to the States of the Union was divided between the outgoing and incoming administrations.

Another Act of Congress was also of national importance. Hitherto the government had been administered through seven departments, at the head of each of which was placed a cabinet officer, the seven together constituting the advisers of the President. No provision for such an arrangement exists in the Constitution of the United States, but the statutes of the nation provide for such a system as most in accordance with the Republican form of govern-

ment. Early in 1889 a measure was brought forward in Congress, and adopted, for the institution of a new department, to be called the Department of Agriculture. Practically the measure involved the elevation of what had previously been an agricultural bureau in the Department of the Interior to the rank of a cabinet office. Among foreign nations, France has been conspicuous for the patronage which the government has given to the agricultural pursuits of that country. Hitherto in the United States, though agriculture had been the greatest of all the producing interests of the people, it had been neglected for more political and less useful departments of American life and enterprise. By this Act of Congress the cabinet offices were increased in number to eight instead of seven.

## CHAPTER XLV.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833. He is the son of John Scott Harrison, a prominent citizen of his native State; grandson of President William Henry Harrison; great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence. In countries where attention is paid to honorable lineage, the circumstances of General Harrison's descent would be considered of much importance, but in America little attention is paid to one's ancestry and more to himself.

Harrison's early life was passed as that of other American boys, in attendance at school and at home duties on the farm. He was a student at the institution called Farmers' College for two years. Afterwards he attended Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, and was graduated therefrom in June, 1852. He took in marriage the daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, President of the Oxford Female College. After a course of study he entered the profession of law, removing to Indianapolis and establishing himself in that city. With the outbreak of the war he became a soldier of the Union, and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Before the close of the war he was elected Reporter of Decisions of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

In the period following the Civil War, General Harrison rose to distinction as a civilian. In 1876 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Republican party for governor of Indiana. In 1881 he was elected to the United States

Senate, where he won the reputation of a leader and statesman. In 1884 his name was prominently mentioned in connection with the presidential nomination of his party, but Mr. Blaine was successful. After the lapse of four years, however, it was found at Chicago that General Harrison more than any other combined in himself all the elements of a successful candidate; and the event justified the choice of the party in making him the standard-bearer in the ensuing campaign.

General Harrison was, in accordance with the usages of the government, inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1889. He had succeeded better than any of his predecessors in keeping his own counsels during the interim between his election and the inauguration. No one had discerned his purposes, and all waited with interest the expressions of his Inaugural Address. In that document he set forth the policy which he would favor as the Chief Executive, recommending the same general measures which the Republican party had advocated during the campaign.

On the day following the inaugural ceremonies, President Harrison sent in the nominations for his cabinet officers, as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; for Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; for Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; for Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, and for Secretary of Agriculture,—the new department,—Jeremiah Rusk, of Wisconsin. These appointments were immediately confirmed by the Senate, and the members of the new Administration assumed their respective official duties.

Within two months after Harrison's inauguration, an



From the Original by G. W. Peters.

### AMERICAN MOUNTED INFANTRY INTERCEPTED BY IGORRATES.

Next to the Tagals the Igorrates are the largest and most powerful tribe in the Philippines. Although hostile to the Tagals, they made war against United States authority until April, 1900, when they acknowledged our supremacy and joined forces against their old enemy. The Igorrates are a distinct race, to be found chiefly in the mountain districts of Bangued, Lepanto and Bontoes, Luzon Island. Their habits are repulsive, but they nevertheless possess some merits, for they are industrious agriculturists skilled in metal working and, quite unlike the licentious Malays, they are monogamists, and generally virtuous, inflicting severe punishment for infidelity. Their love of freedom is a passion which prompted them to resist many efforts of Spain to subjugate them, and for nearly two centuries they warred against Spanish power. Their final submission was made in 1829, but they have ever since retained a large measure of independence, yielding obedience, however, to the Catholic Church, of which they are nearly all devout members.



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event occurred which recalled the mind of the American people to the striking incidents of the Revolutionary epoch. The event in question was the great Centennial Celebration of the Institution of the American Republic. The particular date selected was the 30th of April, 1889, being the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of Washington, at New York City. All of the ceremonies connected with the commemoration in 1889 were associated, as far as practicable, with the scenes of the first inauguration. The event was so interesting and so distinctly national as to warrant a few paragraphs descriptive of the incidents of the celebration.

The Revolutionary epoch in the history of the United States was marked by several crises worthy of commemoration by people of another age. These periods were:

1. The Declaration of Independence.
2. The formation of the Constitution of the United States.
3. The adoption of the Constitution by the States.
4. The institution of the American Republic.

Of the first of these crises we should note the fact that the Declaration of Independence was a *democratic* and *popular* revolution. It was essentially destructive in character. It was designed to break the union with the Mother Country, to throw off the fetters—real or imaginary—which bound us to the Old-World order.

The second, or Constitutional crisis, was reactionary and constructive. It was the epoch of formation. The Fathers, acting from sentiments of common motive and common hope, began to consult about rebuilding, or building anew, a structure in which civil liberty in America might abide. Washington and his friends earnestly debated the feasibility of a system of government better than the old Confederation. The first conferences looking to this end were held at Mount Vernon, and then at Annapolis. Finally a

great convention of delegates was assembled at Philadelphia. The sittings were held in the summer of 1787. That strange compromise called the Constitution of the United States was produced and signed by the delegates, with Washington as their President.

This work was followed by a great political agitation. Should the new Constitution be adopted; or, should it be rejected and the old Confederate system be continued? On these questions there was a division of parties, the lines of which have not been wholly obliterated to the present day.

The story of the adoption of the Constitution has already been given in its own place in the preceding narrative. After the adoption by nine or ten States, came the striking event of the institution of the new government. Washington was made President. A Congress was constituted by an election of a House of Representatives and a Senate, according to the provisions of the new instrument. The actual setting-up of the government occurred on the 30th of April, 1789. This was the particular event which, after a lapse of a hundred years, the people and government of the United States determined to celebrate with suitable centennial and commemorative exercises.

It was decided that the intended celebration should conform as nearly as possible to the ceremonies attending the actual inauguration of Washington. There was a departure from the type of World's Fairs which had already been celebrated several times in Europe and America. In the commemoration of the institution of the government the feature of exposition was wholly omitted. Everything was designed to point backwards to the events of a century ago, and to bring to vivid recollection the manners and condition of the American people when the republic of 1789 was instituted.

The movement for the celebration began in New York City. A committee was raised and a plan outlined for the coming event. It was decided to devote two days, namely, the 30th of April and the 1st of May, 1889, to the celebration. Everything was accordingly arranged for a great military and civic parade in New York on the days indicated. For a fortnight before the event the great trains on the railways centering in the metropolis began to pour out an unusual cargo of human life. The throngs were gathered from all parts of the republic, but principally from the Old Thirteen States.

The rise of the Centennial morning was auspicious, and the general appearance of New York City was such as to excite the liveliest admiration. Never was a great city more completely clad in gay apparel. Every street on both sides as far as the eye could reach was ornamented with flags and streamers, mottoes and emblems of jubilee. Broadway and Fifth Avenue were the most elaborately adorned. It is doubtful whether a finer display has ever been made in the streets of any city. The decorations covered all public and private edifices. Scarcely a house on Manhattan Island but had its share in the display. Could one have been lifted in a balloon above Castle Garden, sweeping northward with his glass, he would have seen flags on flags from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil. Along both sides of the North and East Rivers, and in the islands of the bay, the universal emblems were flung to the breeze, and the purest of sunshine glorified the scene with a blaze of morning light.

Arrangements had been made for the President, Vice-President and members of the cabinet, with other prominent officers of the government, to participate in the exercises. The part assigned President Harrison was the part of Washington in the first inauguration. On the arrival of the Chief Magistrate, he was tendered a public reception at several

places in the city. In the evening he attended a great ball in the Metropolitan Opera House, prepared in imitation of the Washingtonian ball of 1789.

On the morning of the 30th of April, the streets of New York quickly filled with people. The exercises in commemoration of the institution of the government were held in Wall Street, where a platform had been erected in front of the Treasury building, occupying the site of the Old Federal Hall, and marked by the presence of Ward's colossal statue of Washington, on the spot where the Father of his Country had been inaugurated. Here was delivered the Centennial Oration, by Chauncey M. Depew, an address by President Harrison, and a poem written for the occasion by John Greenleaf Whittier. Meanwhile, the military parade, greatest of all such displays in the United States with the single exception of the review of the soldiers at Washington at the close of the Civil War, had been prepared for the march. The procession was under the command of Major-General John M. Schofield. The line of march was from Wall Street into Broadway, up Broadway to Waverly Place, through Waverly Place into Fifth Avenue, along that thoroughfare to Fourteenth Street, thence around Union Square to Fifth Avenue, and thence northward to Central Park.

Through all this distance and on both sides of the procession the streets were a solid wall of human beings, rising to the rear by every kind of contrivance which ingenuity could invent. The mass on the sidewalks was from twenty to fifty persons deep. In all advantageous positions scaffolding with ascending seats had been erected for the accommodation of the multitudes. At every street crossing vehicles were drawn up in a solid mass, and the privilege of standing in these or on boxes or carts was sold at high figures to eager people not better provided with a point of

view. Housetops, balconies, stoops and verandas were crowded to their utmost capacity. On came the procession, headed by the President and the commanding general. At the head of the column were two thousand regulars from the army. Then came the cadets from West Point, with their splendid marching; then the artillery of the regular army; then the marines and naval cadets, whose peculiar rolling movement showed that they had been recently gathered from the decks of ships.

After this division came the militiamen and volunteers of the National Guards from the different States of the Union. Behind this magnificent display followed the veterans of the Civil War—the men of the Grand Army of the Republic, headed by their commander-in-chief, General William Warner. The old soldiers were in column to the number of twelve thousand, arranged according to the locality from which they came, the rear being closed with a magnificent body numbering nearly four thousand from Brooklyn and Kings County, New York. It was already nightfall when this extreme left of the column passed the reviewing stand on Fifth Avenue, where the President and the chief men of the nation were gathered.

The program prepared by the Citizens' Committee embraced a general holiday of three days' duration, during which business was suspended throughout the city. On the 29th and 30th of April and on the 1st day of May the restriction was faithfully regarded. One might traverse Broadway and find but few business establishments open to the public. This was true particularly of the two principal days of the festival.

It now remains to notice the great civic parade on the 1st of May, with which the commemorative exercises were concluded. The design was that this should represent the industries, the progress, and in general the civic life of the

Metropolis of the Nation and of the country at large, as distinguished from the military display of the preceding day. It was found from the experience of the 30th that the line of march was too long, and the second day's course was somewhat shorter. It is not intended in this connection to enter into any elaborate account of the civic procession of the third day. It was second only in importance to the great military parade which had preceded it. The procession was composed, in large part, of those various civic orders and brotherhoods with which modern society so much abounds. In these the foreign nationalities which have obtained so strong a footing in New York City were largely prevalent. The German societies were out in full force. Companies representing almost every nation of the Old World were in the line, carrying gay banners, keeping step to the music of the magnificent bands, and proudly lifting their mottoes and emblems in the May-day morning.

The second general feature of this procession was the historical part. The primitive life of Manhattan Island, the adventures of the early explorers and discoverers along the American coast, the striking incidents in the early annals of the Old Thirteen States, were allegorized and mounted in visible form on chariots and drawn through the streets. All the old heroes of American history from Columbus to Peter Stuyvesant were seen again in mortal form, received obeisance, and heard the shouts of the multitudes. From ten o'clock in the forenoon till half-past three in the afternoon the procession was under way, the principal line of march being down Fifth Avenue and through the noted squares of the city. With the coming of evening the pyrotechnic display of the preceding night was renewed in many parts of the metropolis, though it could hardly be said that the fireworks were equal in brilliancy, beauty and impressiveness to the magnificent day-pageants of the streets.

One of the striking features of the celebration was the ease and rapidity with which the vast multitudes were breathed into and breathed out of the city. In the principal hotels fully one hundred and fifty thousand strangers were registered as guests. More than twice this number was distributed in the smaller lodging-houses and private dwellings of New York and Brooklyn. Yet the careful observer abroad in the streets saw neither the coming nor the going. With the appearance of the days of the celebration the throngs were present; on the following days they were gone. The great railways centering in the metropolis had done their work noiselessly, speedily, effectively. It may well be recorded as one of the marvels of modern times that only two persons are said to have lost their lives in this tremendous assemblage, extending through several days, and that at least one of these died suddenly from heart disease, while the manner of the death of the other was unknown. Such is the triumph which the mastery of the human mind over the forces of the material world has easily achieved in our age, under the guidance of that beneficent science by which the world is at once enlightened and protected from danger.

The close of the year 1888 and the beginning of 1889 were marked by a peculiar episode in the history of the country. An unexpected and even dangerous complication arose between the United States and Germany relative to the Samoan Islands. This comparatively unimportant group of the South Pacific lies in a southwesterly direction, at a distance of about five thousand miles from San Francisco, and nearly two thousand miles eastward from Australia. The long-standing policy of the government established under the Administration of Washington and ever since maintained, to have no entanglements with foreign nations, seemed in this instance to be strangely at variance with the facts.

During 1888 the civil affairs of the Samoan Islands were thrown into extreme confusion by what was really the progressive disposition of the people, but what appeared in the garb of an insurrection against the established authorities. The government of the islands is a monarchy. The country is ruled by native princes, and is independent of foreign powers. The capital, Apia, lies on a bay of the same name on the northern coast of the principal island. It was here that the insurrection gained greatest headway.

The revolutionary movement was headed by an audacious chieftain called Tamasese. The king of the island was Malietoa, and his chief supporter, Mataafa. At this time, the German empire was represented in Samoa by its Consul-General, Herr Weber, and the United States was represented by Hon. Harold M. Sewall. A German armed force virtually deposed Malietoa and set up Tamasese on the throne. On the other hand, the representative of the United States, following the policy of his government, stood by the established authority, supporting the native sovereign and Mataafa. The American and German authorities in the island were thus brought into conflict, and serious difficulties occurred between the ships of the two nations in the harbor.

When the news of this state of affairs reached Germany, in April, 1889, several additional men-of-war were sent out to the island to uphold the German cause. Mataafa and the Germans were thus brought to war. Meanwhile the American government took up the cause of its Consul and of King Malietoa, as against the insurrection. A section of the American navy was dispatched to the distant island, and the ships of war of two of the greatest nations of Christendom were thus set face to face in a harbor of the South Pacific Ocean.

In this condition of affairs, on the 22d of March, 1889, one of the most violent hurricanes ever known in the islands

blew up from the north, and the American and German war vessels were driven upon the great reef which constitutes the only breakwater outside of the harbor of Apia. Here they were wrecked. The American war-ships *Nipsic*, *Trenton* and *Vandalia* were dashed into ruins. The German vessels *Adler*, *Olga* and *Eber* were also lost. The English vessel *Calliope*, which was caught in the storm, was the only war-ship which escaped, by steaming out to sea. Serious loss of life accompanied the disaster: four American officers and forty-six men, nine German officers and eighty-seven men, sank to rise no more.

Meanwhile England had become interested in the dispute and had taken a stand with the United States as against the decision of Germany. The matter became of so great importance that President Harrison, who had in the meantime succeeded to office as Chief Magistrate, appointed, with the advice of the Senate, an Embassy Extraordinary to go to Berlin and meet Prince Bismarck in a conference, with a view to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The Ambassadors appointed for this purpose were J. A. Kasson, of Iowa; William W. Phelps, of New Jersey; and G. H. Bates, of Delaware. The Commissioners set out on the 13th of April, and on their arrival at the capital of the German empire opened negotiations with Chancellor Bismarck and his son. The attitude and demand of the American government was that the independence of Samoa under its native sovereign should be acknowledged and guaranteed by the great nations concerned in the controversy. The conference closed in May, 1889, with the restoration of King Malietoa and the recognition of his sovereignty over the island.

The closing week of May, 1889, was made forever memorable in the history of the United States by the destruction of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The calamity was caused by the bursting of a reservoir and the pouring out of a deluge

in the valley below. A large artificial lake had been constructed in the ravine of the South Fork River, a tributary of the Conemaugh. It was a fishing lake, the property of a company of wealthy sportsmen, and was about five miles in length, varying in depth from fifty to one hundred feet. The country below the lake was thickly peopled. The city of Johnstown lay at the junction of the South Fork with the Conemaugh. In the last days of May unusually heavy rains fell in all that region, swelling every stream to a torrent. The South Fork Lake became full to overflowing. The dam had been imperfectly constructed. On the afternoon of May 31st the dam of the reservoir burst wide open in the center, and a solid wall of water *from twenty to fifty feet in height* rushed down the valley with terrific violence.

The destruction which ensued was as great as the modern world has witnessed. In the path of the deluge everything was swept away. Johnstown was totally wrecked and was thrown in an indescribable heap of horror against the aqueduct of the Pennsylvania railway below the town. Here the ruins caught fire, and the shrieks of hundreds of victims were drowned in the holocaust. About three thousand people perished in the flood or were burned to death in the ruins. The heart of the nation responded quickly to the sufferings of the survivors, and millions of dollars in money and supplies were poured out to relieve the despair of those who survived the calamity.

The year 1889 witnessed the assembling at Washington City of an International Congress. The body was composed of delegates from the Central and South American States, from Mexico and the United States of America. Popularly the assembly was known as the "Pan-American Congress." The event was the culmination of a policy adopted by the United States some years previously. General Grant, during his Presidency and in the subsequent

period of his life, had endeavored to promote more intimate relations with the Spanish-American peoples. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under Garfield, entertained a similar ambition and was the principal promoter of the enterprise. The opposition to the movement was based on prejudice—mostly political. Mr. Blaine was accused unjustly of a purpose to create in the United States a policy similar to Disraeli's "high-jingoism" in Great Britain. The United States was to become the arbiter of the Western nations. To this end the Central American and South American States must be brought, first into intimacy with our republic, and afterwards be made to follow her lead in warding off all Europeanism.

The death of Garfield prevented the institution of some such policy as that here vaguely defined. Nevertheless, in 1884, an Act was passed by Congress authorizing the President to appoint a commission "to ascertain and report upon the best modes of securing more intimate international commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." Commissioners were sent out to the countries referred to, and the movement for the Congress was started. Not until May of 1888, however, was the Act passed providing for the Congress. The Spanish-American nations responded to the overtures and took the necessary steps to meet the United States in the conference. The objects contemplated were, first, to promote measures pertaining to the peace and prosperity of the peoples concerned; to establish customs-unions among them; to improve the means of communication between the ports of the States represented, and to advance the commercial interests and political harmony of the nations of the New World.

The Spanish-American and Portuguese-American States, to the number of nine, appointed their delegates, and the

latter arrived in the United States in the autumn of 1889. President Harrison on his part named ten members of the Congress as follows: John F. Hanson, of Georgia; Morris M. Estee, of California; Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia; Andrew Carnegie, of Pennsylvania; T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts; Clement Studebaker, of Indiana; Charles R. Flint, of New York; William H. Trescot, of South Carolina; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, and John B. Henderson, of Missouri. Mexico sent two representatives, namely, Matias Romero and Enrique A. Maxia. Brazil, still an empire, also sent two delegates: J. G. do Amaral Valente and Salvador de Mendonca. The representative of Honduras was Jeronimo Zelaya; Fernando Cruz was delegate of Guatemala, and Jacinto Castellanos, of San Salvador. Costa Rica sent as her representative Manuel Aragon. Horatio Guzman, Minister of Nicaragua, represented his government in the Congress. The Argentine Republic had two delegates: Roque Saenz Pena and Manuel Quintana. Chili sent two delegates: Emilio C. Varas and José Alfonso. The representatives of the United States of Colombia were José M. Hurtado, Carlos Martinez Silva and Climaco Calderon. The delegates of Venezuela were Nicanor Bolet Peraza, José Andrade and Francisco Antonio Silva; that of Peru was F. C. C. Zegarra; that of Ecuador, José Maria Placido Caamano; that of Uruguay, Alberto Nin; that of Bolivia, Juan F. Velarde; that of Hayti, Arthur Laforestri, and that of Paraguay, José S. Decoud.

The representatives met in Washington City in October. Committees were formed to report to the body suitable action on the subjects which might properly come before it for discussion. From the first the proceedings took a peculiarly practical direction. The great questions of commerce were at the bottom of the reports, the debates and the actions which followed. Nor can it be doubted that the move-

ment as a whole conduced in the highest degree to the friendship, prosperity and mutual interests of the nations concerned.

At the same time an International Maritime Conference, for which provisions had been made in the legislation of several nations, convened at Washington. In this case the States of Europe were concerned in common with those of the New World. All the maritime nations were invited by the Act of Congress to send representatives to the National Capital in the following year, to consider the possibility of establishing uniform rules and regulations for the government of vessels at sea, and for the adoption of a common system of marine signals. Twenty-six nations accepted the call of the American government, and appointed delegates to the Congress. They, too, as well as the representatives of the Pan-American Congress, held their sittings in November and December of 1889. The same practical ability and good sense as related to the subjects under consideration were shown by the members of the Maritime Conference as by those of the sister body, and the results reached were equally encouraging and equally gratifying, not only to the government of the United States, but to all the countries whose interests were involved in the discussions.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

WE may here revert briefly to the work of the Fifty-first Congress. The proceedings of that branch of the government were marked with much partisan bitterness and excitement. The first question which occupied the attention of the body was the revision of the tariff. In the preceding pages we have developed, with sufficient amplitude, the history and various phases of this question. The Civil War brought in a condition of affairs which must, in the nature of the case, entail the tariff issue on the rest of the century. More than two decades elapsed after the close of the conflict before the attention of the American people was sufficiently aroused to the nature of the laws bearing on their industrial condition. Then it was that they first became aware of the fact that a schedule of customs duties, which had been brought forth under the exigency of war, still existed, and that under the operation of this schedule a vast array of protected industries had come into existence. Such industries had grown great and strong. Around them consolidated corporations had been formed, having millions of money at their command and vast ramifications into political society. As a consequence, the revenues of the United States were swollen to mountainous proportions. The treasury at Washington became engorged, and at length the necessity was developed of doing something in the nature of reform.

The condition of affairs in the treasury—depending as it did upon the tariff system—entailed two prodigious

evils: The surplus served as a motive in Congress for all manner of jobbery and extravagant expenditure. In the second place, it enabled the combined monopolies of the country to uphold themselves by affecting national legislation in favor of the protected industries and against the common interest of the people as a whole. The situation was really a danger and constant menace. It was for this reason that President Cleveland, as already noted, sent his celebrated annual message to Congress touching upon the single question of the evils of the existing system, and asking that body to take such steps as should lead to a general reform.

We have already seen how this question was uppermost in the presidential contest of 1888. The Democratic platform boldly espoused the doctrine of tariff reform, but stopped short—out of an expedient deference to the manufacturing interests—of absolute free trade. The Republican platform declared for a revision of the tariff system—such a revision as might preserve the manufacturing interests, but favor those industries which seemed to be disparaged. This clause of the platform proved to be wonderfully effective in the political campaign. The event showed, however, that it was a shuffle. A very large part of the Republicans understood by “revision of the tariff” such legislation as should *reduce and reform* the existing system, not merely change it and adapt it to the interests of the protected classes.

With the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, it soon became apparent that “revision of the tariff” was not to mean a reform by reduction and curtailments of the schedule, but that the actual movement was in the other direction. Representative William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought in a measure which passed into history under the name of the McKinley Bill, and which, finally adopted by the Republican majority, was

incorporated as a part of the governmental system. The policy of the bill was to abolish the existing duties on a few great articles of production, particularly raw sugar and the lower grades of refined sugar. By this means a vast reduction was secured in the aggregate revenues, notwithstanding the fact that the average rates of import duties on manufactured articles in general was raised from about forty-seven per cent. to more than fifty-three per cent. The McKinley Bill became, therefore, efficient by adroitly drawing to its principles the sympathies of the protected classes, and at the same time by throwing free—and therefore cheap—sugar to the people, attracted not a little popular sympathy. The contest over the measure was extreme in animosity, and the bill was adopted only after great delay.

The sequel showed unusual results. The tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress was immediately attacked by the Democratic and Independent press of the country. Opinion was overwhelmingly against it. The general elections of 1890 brought an astonishing verdict of the people against the late enactments. There was a complete political revolution by which the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly three to one. At a later period a second reaction ensued somewhat favorable to the McKinley legislation, and the author of the measures referred to succeeded in being chosen, in 1891, governor of Ohio, attaining his position by a popular majority of over twenty thousand.

Another incident in the history of the same Congress relates to the serious difficulty which arose in the House of Representatives between the Democratic minority and the speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. The Republican majority in the Fifty-first House was not large, and the minority was easily able, in matters of party legislation, to break the quorum by refusing to vote. In order to counteract this

policy, a new system of rules was reported, empowering the speaker to count the minority *as present*, whether voting or not voting, and thus to compel a quorum. These rules were violently resisted by the Democrats, and Speaker Reed was denounced by his opponents as an unjust and arbitrary officer. He was nicknamed in the jargon of the times "The Czar," because of his rulings and strong-handed method of making the records of the House show a majority when no majority had actually voted on the pending questions. It was under the provision of the new rule that nearly all of the party measures of the Fifty-first Congress were adopted.

One of the most important of these acts was the attempt to pass through Congress a measure bearing radically upon the election system of the United States. A bill was reported by which it was proposed virtually to transfer the control of the Congressional elections in the States of the Union from State to National authority. It cannot be doubted that the measure reached down to the fundamental principles of American political society. The "Force Bill," as it was called, brought out the strongest passions of the day. The opposition was intense. The Republican party was by no means unanimous in support of the measure. A large part of the thinking people of the United States, without respect to political affiliation, doubted the expediency of this additional measure of centralization.

Certain it was that serious and great abuses existed in the election systems of the States. In many parts of the United States elections were not free. In parts of the South the old animosities against the political equality of the black man were still sufficiently vital to prevent the freedom of the ballot. Congressmen were many times chosen by a small minority who, from their social and political superiority, were able to baffle or intimidate the ignorant many at the polls. Such an abuse called loudly for a reform, but

the measure proposed doubtless contained within itself the potent germs of abuses greater than those which it was sought to remove. The Elections Bill was for a long time debated in Congress, and was then laid over indefinitely in such manner as to prevent final action upon it. Certain Republican Senators who were opposed to the measure, and at the same time strongly wedded to the cause of the free coinage of silver money, joined their votes with the Democrats, and the so-called "Force Bill" failed of adoption.

The third great measure of the Fifty-first Congress was the attempt to restore silver to a perfect equality with gold in the coinage system of the United States. Since 1874 there had been an increasing departure in the market values of gold and silver bullion, though the purchasing power of the two money metals had been kept equal when the same were coined under the provisions of legal tender. The purchasing power of gold bullion had in the last fifteen years risen about sixteen per cent., while the purchasing power of silver bullion had fallen about four per cent. in the markets of the world, thus producing a difference of twenty per cent. or more in the purchasing power of the two metals in bullion. One class of theorists, assuming that gold is the only standard of values, insisted that this difference in the purchasing power of the two raw metals had arisen wholly from a depreciation in the price of silver. This class included the monometalists—those who desire that the monetary system of the United States shall be brought to the single standard of gold, and that silver shall be made wholly subsidiary to the richer metal. To this class belonged the fund-holding syndicates, and indeed all great creditors whose interest it is to have the debts due them discharged in as costly a dollar as possible. As a matter of course, if a debt be contracted on a basis of two metals, that fact gives to the debtor

the valuable option of paying in the cheaper of two coins. This valuable option the people of the United States have enjoyed, greatly to their advantage and prosperity. The silver dollar has been for precisely a hundred years (with the exception of the quadrennium extending from 1874 to 1878) the dollar of the law and the contract. It has never been altered or abridged to the extent of a fraction of a grain from the establishment of our system of money in 1792. It has, therefore, been, and continues to be, the lawful and undoubted unit of all money and account in the United States, just as much, and even more, than the gold dollar with which it is associated. If it be true, therefore, that there is a radical and irremediable departure in the value of these two metals—if it be true that we have, as monometalists assert, an 80-cent dollar—it is clearly and demonstrably true that we also have a “long dollar,” a dollar worth *more than par*, a 120-cent dollar, which the creditor classes desire to have substituted for the dollar of the law and the contract.

The advocates of the free coinage of silver have argued that the difference in the bullion values of the two money metals has arisen most largely from an increase in the purchasing power of gold, and that equal legislation and equal favor shown to the two money metals would bring them to par the one with the other, and keep them in that relation in the markets of the world. It is claimed, with good reason, that the laws hitherto enacted by Congress discriminating against silver and in favor of gold were impolitic, unjust and un-American. It was urged in the debates of 1889-90 that the free coinage of silver would be of vast advantage to the financial interests of the country. This view and argument, however, were strenuously opposed by the money centers and the credit-holding classes of the United States, to whom the payment of all debts according to the highest

standard of value, that is, in gold only, was a fundamental principle.

The debates for a while seemed likely to disrupt the existing political order. Suddenly the United States Senate, by a combination of a large number of free-silver Republicans with the great majority of Democrats, passed a bill for the absolute free coinage of silver, and for the day it seemed that the measure had succeeded. The administration, however, was strongly opposed to free coinage. The Senate bill was, therefore, adroitly arrested by the management of Speaker Reed and the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Another bill, in the form of an amendment providing for the *purchase* (but not for the *coinage*) of four million ounces of silver monthly by the treasury of the United States, and the payment therefor in silver certificates having the form and functions of money, was passed by the House and finally accepted by the Senate. An expansion of the paper money of the country was thus effected, while at the same time the control of the silver bullion was retained in the treasury under the management of those who were opposed to free coinage and hopeful ultimately of at least effecting a compromise by which a more valuable silver dollar may be substituted in the interest of the creditor classes in place of the standard silver dollar which has borne the full legal-tender quality since the foundation of the government. By the legislation just referred to, the ultimate decision of the silver question was thrown over to another Congress, to constitute a menace and terror to party discipline for both the Democratic and Republican parties.

In addition to the admission of four new States, the Fifty-first Congress passed the necessary acts for the organization of Idaho and Wyoming. These were destined to make the forty-third and forty-fourth members of the Union. Idaho at the time of organization contained a population of 84,385.

Wyoming had a population of 60,705. The acts for Statehood were passed for the two new commonwealths on the 3d and 10th of July, respectively, in the year 1890.

In June of the same year was taken the eleventh decennial census of the United States. Its results, so far as the same have been compiled, indicate that the aggregate population of the country has increased to 62,622,250, exclusive of Indians not taxed and whites in Alaska and Indian Territory. These additions will doubtless increase the grand total to about sixty-three million souls. The center of population had continued its progress westward, having removed during the ninth decade from the vicinity of Cincinnati to a point near the hamlet of Westport, in Decatur County, Indiana.

The period which is here before us was marked by the death of three other great leaders of the Civil War. On the 5th of August, 1888, Lieutenant-General Sheridan, at that time commander-in-chief of the American army, died at his home in Nonquitt, Massachusetts. Few other generals of the Union army had won greater admiration and higher honors. He was in many senses a model soldier, and his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven was the occasion of great grief throughout the country. One year later, on December 6, 1889, Jefferson Davis, once the head and hope of the Confederacy, expired in New Orleans, at the very ripe age of eighty-one years. His life had been a tumultuous one, but if we forget the dark days of civil strife, as it becomes us now to do, in this new era of national fraternity, his record is brilliant, and his name will be remembered rather for the services he rendered his country in Mexico and the halls of legislation than for the mistake for which he suffered in common with the nation. Mr. Davis was an able statesman and was undoubtedly conscientious in his purpose when he advised secession; it is the greatest

men that make the greatest mistakes, but in turn it is the great that forget and forgive. His virtues survive and his memory is lovingly cherished by the people with whom he cast his fortunes and his honor. The next distinguished leader to fall before the inexorable reaper was General William T. Sherman. Among the Union commanders in the great Civil War he stood easily next to Grant in greatness and reputation. In vast and varied abilities, particularly in military accomplishments, he was perhaps superior to all. It may well be thought that he was more fortunate than any other—and wiser. After the war he steadily refused to be other than a great soldier. No enticement, no blandishment, no form of applause or persuasion, could induce him to exchange the laurels which he had won in the immortal contest for the Union for any other form of chaplet or perishable wreath. Sherman might have been President of the United States. It were not far from the truth to believe that he was the only man in America who ever willingly put aside that glittering prize. To have fallen into the hands of politicians, place-hunters, jobbers and cormorants would have been intolerable to that brusque, sturdy and truthful nature. With a clearer vision even than the vision of Grant, he perceived that to be the unsullied great soldier of the Union was to be better than anything made by men in caucus and convention. Born in 1820, he reached the mature age of seventy-one, and died at his home in New York City on the 14th day of February, 1891. The event produced a profound impression. The general of the Union army who had fought so many great battles and said so many great things was at last silent in death. Of his sterling patriotism there had never been a doubt. Of his prescience in war, of his learning, of his abilities as an author, there could be as little skepticism. As to his wonderful faculties and achievements, all men were agreed. His funeral became

the man. He had provided for that also in advance. He had directed that nothing other than a soldier's burial should be reserved for him. His remains were taken under escort from New York to St. Louis, where they were deposited in the family burying grounds, in Mount Calvary Cemetery.

After the death of General Sherman, only two commanders of the first class remained on the stage of action from the great Civil War—both Confederates. These were General Joseph E. Johnston and James Longstreet. The former of these two was destined to follow his rival and conqueror at an early day to the land of rest. General Johnston had been an honorary pall-bearer at the funeral of Sherman, and contracted a heavy cold on that occasion which resulted in his death on the 20th of February, 1891, at his home in Washington City. Strange fatality of human affairs that after twenty-five years he who surrendered his sword to Sherman at Raleigh should have come home from the funeral of the victor to die! General Johnston was in his eighty-third year at the time of his decease. Among the Confederate commanders none were his superiors, with the single exception of Lee. After the close of the war his conduct had been of a kind to win the confidence of Union men, and at the time of his death he was held in almost universal honor.

It was at this time, namely, in February of 1891, that a serious event reaching upward and outward, first into national and then into international proportions, occurred in the city of New Orleans. There existed in that metropolis a branch of the secret social organization among the Italians known by the European name of the Mafia Society. The principles of the brotherhood involved mutual protection, and even the law of revenge against enemies. Doubtless much of the spirit which had belonged to the Italian order of the Mafia had been transferred to America. At any rate,

some of the features of the order were un-American in character, and some of the methods dangerous to the public and private peace. Several breaks occurred between members of the society (not the society itself) and the police authorities of the city; and the latter, by arrest and prosecution, incurred the dislike and hatred of the former. The difficulty grew in animosity, until at length Captain David C. Hennessey, chief of the police of New Orleans, was assassinated by some secret murderer, or murderers, who for the time escaped detection. It was believed, however, that the Mafia Society was at the bottom of the assassination, and several of the members of the brotherhood were arrested under the charge of murder.

A trial followed, and the circumstances tended to establish—but did *not* establish—the guilt of the prisoners. The proof was not positive—did not preclude a reasonable doubt of the guilt of those on trial, and the first three of the Italian prisoners were acquitted. The sequel was unfortunate in the last degree. A great excitement followed the decision of the court and jury, and charges were made and published that the jury had been bribed or terrorized with threats into making a false verdict. These charges were never substantiated, and were doubtless without authenticity. But on the day following the acquittal of the Italians a public meeting, having its origin in mobocracy, was called, and a great crowd, irresponsible and angry, gathered around the statue of Henry Clay, in one of the public squares of New Orleans.

Speeches were made. The authorities of the city, instead of attempting to check the movement, stood off and let it take its own course. A mob was at once organized and directed against the jail, where the Italian prisoners were confined. The jail was entered by force. The prisoners were driven from their cells, and nine of them were shot to death in the jail yard. Two others were dragged forth and

hanged. Nor can it be doubted that the innocent as well as the guilty (if indeed any were guilty—as certainly none were guilty according to law) suffered in the slaughter.

The event was followed by the greatest public excitement. Clearly murder and outrage had been done by the mob. It was soon proved that at least two of the murdered Italians had been subjects of the Italian kingdom; the rest were either naturalized Americans or foreigners bearing papers of intention. The affair at once became of national, and then of international, importance. The President of the United States called upon Governor Nicolls, of Louisiana, to give an account of the thing done in New Orleans, and its justification. The governor replied with a communication in which it were hard to say whether insolence or inconsequential apology for the actions of the mob was uppermost. With this the excitement increased. The Italian Minister, Baron Fava, at Washington, entered his solemn protest against the killing of his countrymen, and the American Secretary of State entered into communication with King Humbert on the subject.

Italy was thoroughly aroused. The Italian societies in various American cities passed angry resolutions against the destruction of their fellow-countrymen by the mob, and the newspapers of the country teemed with discussions of the subject. There was unfortunately a disposition on the part of America to play the bully. At times, threats of war were freely made, and it appeared not impossible that the two countries would become unhappily involved in a conflict. The more thoughtful, however, looked with confidence to the settlement of the question by peaceable means. The Italian government presently recalled Baron Fava from Washington, and during the remainder of the year communications between the two governments were made only through the Italian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington. Grad-

ually, however, the excitement subsided. The American government was fortunate in having as its representative at the court of Italy the Honorable Albert G. Porter, a man of calm temperament and deeply imbued with the sense of justice and right. By the beginning of 1892 it had become certain that the unpleasant episode would pass without further menace of war, and that the question involved in the difficulty would be justly settled in course of time by the equitable rules of diplomacy.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

THE year 1891 was noted for a serious difficulty between the United States and the republic of Chili. The complication had its origin in the domestic affairs of that republic, particularly in a revolution which, in the spring of the year named, began to make headway against the existing government. At the head of that government was President Balmaceda, against whom the popular party in the Chilian Congress was violently arrayed. The President was accused of seeking to influence the choice of his own successor in the approaching election, but more especially of retaining in office a ministry out of harmony with the Congressional majority. The latter point was the more serious, and led at length to the assumption of dictatorial powers by the President. This course seemed necessary in order to maintain himself in power and to uphold the existing ministry. The popular party receded from Congress only to take up arms. This party was known in the civil conflict that ensued as the Congressionalists, while the upholders of the existing order were called Balmacedists. The latter had possession of the government; but the former, outside of the great cities of Valparaiso and Santiago, were the most powerful.

The insurrection against Balmaceda gathered head. A Congressional Junta was formed, and a provisional government set up at the town of Iquique. Thus far the movement had in no wise disturbed the relations of Chili with the United States. It is in the nature of such revolutions

that the insurgent party must acquire resources, gather arms, and create all the other means of its existence, progress and success. The Chilians of the Congressional faction found themselves in great need of arms, and would fain look to some foreign nation for a supply. In the emergency they managed to get possession of a steamship called the *Itata*, belonging to the South American Steamship Company, and sent her to the western coast of the United States to purchase arms. The steamer came to the harbor of San Diego, California, and by the agency of an intermediate vessel managed to secure a large purchase of arms, and to get the same transferred to her own deck. At this juncture, however, the government, gaining information of the thing done, ordered the detention of the *Itata* until her business and destination could be known. A district attorney of the United States was sent on board the ship, which was ordered not to leave the bay. In defiance of this order, however, the officers of the *Itata* steamed out by night and got to sea. They put the officer of the United States in a boat, sent him ashore, and disappeared over the Pacific horizon.

The announcement of the escape of the *Itata* led to vigorous action on the part of the government. The United States war-ship *Charleston* was ordered out in pursuit from the bay of San Francisco. The *Itata*, however, had three days the start, and it could hardly be expected that the *Charleston* would be able to overhaul the fugitive. The latter made her way to one of the harbors of Chili, whither she was pursued by the *Charleston*. But the matter had now come to protest made by the United States to the provisional government of the Revolutionists, and the latter consented to the surrender of the *Itata* to the authorities of our country. This was done, and the incident seemed for the time to have ended without serious consequences.

After the affair of the *Itata* public opinion in Chili, par-

ticularly in the cities of Santiago and Valparaiso, turned strongly against the United States. This is said of the sentiments of the Congressional party. That party saw itself thwarted in its design and put at fault by its failure to secure the wished-for supply of arms, that failure having arisen through the agency of our government. However correct the course of the United States may have been, the Revolutionists must needs be angered at their disappointment, and it was natural for them to look henceforth with distrust and dislike on the authorities of our country. This dislike centered about the legation of the United States in Santiago. Hon. Patrick Egan, the American Minister, became unpopular with the Congressionalists because of his supposed favor to the Balmacedan government. That government still stood. It was recognized by the President of the United States as the government both *de jure* and *de facto* of Chili. Egan must therefore hold relations with Balmaceda and his Minister of Foreign Affairs. He must continue to stand in with the existing order until some other order should be established in its stead.

It appears that our Minister and our government misapprehended the importance and strength of the Revolutionary movement. The Congressionalists steadily gained ground. Perhaps the revolution which was progressing could not be seen in full magnitude from the position occupied by our Minister at the Chilian capital. At all events, the Congressional army came on in full force, and soon pressed the government back to the limits of the capital and the immediate vicinity of that city. Affairs drew to a crisis. A bloody battle was fought at a place called Placilla, near Santiago. The Balmacedists gave way before the storm. The battle of Placilla and a subsequent engagement still nearer to the capital went against them. The insurgents burst victoriously into Santiago, and the revolution accomplished itself

by the overthrow of the existing government. Everything went to wreck. Both Santiago and Valparaiso were taken by the Revolutionary party. The Balmacedists were fugitives in all directions. The Dictator himself fled into hiding, and presently made an end by committing suicide.

In such condition of affairs it was natural that the defeated partisans of the late government should take refuge in the legations of foreign nations at the capital. A Ministerial legation is, under international law, an asylum for refugees. At this time the official residences of the foreign nations at Santiago, with the exception of that of Great Britain, were all crowded more or less with fugitives flying thither for safety from the wrath of the successful Revolutionists. The attitude of Great Britain from the first had been favorable to the Congressional party, and it was evident that that power would now stand in high favor with the victors.

It chanced that the Minister of the United States was by birth an Irishman. He was an Irish agitator and British refugee lately naturalized in America. Probably the antagonistic attitude of Great Britain and the United States at the Chilian capital was attributable in part to the nativity and political principles of Egan. At all events the American Ministerial residence gave asylum to numbers of the defeated Balmacedists, and the triumphant Revolutionists grew more and more hostile to our government and Minister because they could not get at those who were under his protection. This hostility led to the establishment of a police guard and a force of detectives around the American legation. It seemed at times that the place might be actually attacked and taken by the angry victors in the recent revolution. At length, however, under the protests of our government, the guards were withdrawn and the legation was freed from surveillance. Relations began to grow

amicable once more, when the difficulties suddenly took another and more serious form.

It happened at this time that the war vessels of several nations visited the harbor of Valparaiso, drawn thither by interest and for the sake of information or the business of the respective navies. Among the ships that came was the United States war-steamer *Baltimore*. On the 16th of October, 1891, a hundred and seventeen petty officers and men, headed by Captain Schley, went on shore by permission, and in the usual way went into the city of Valparaiso. Most of them visited a quarter of the city not reputable in character. It soon became apparent that the ill-informed enmity and malice of the lower classes were strongly excited at the appearance of the men and uniform of the United States on the streets. With the approach of night, and with apparent pre-arrangement, a Chilian mob rose upon the sailors and began an attack. The sailors retreated and attempted to regain their ship; but the mob closed around them, throwing stones, and presently at closer quarters using knives and clubs. Eighteen of the sailors were brutally stabbed and beaten, and some died from their injuries. The remainder, leaving the wounded behind them, escaped to the ship.

Intelligence of this event was at once communicated to the government of the United States. The country was greatly excited over the outrage, and preparations were begun for war. The navy department was ordered to prepare several vessels for the Chilian coast. The great war-ship *Oregon* and two others were equipped, manned and directed to the Pacific shores of South America. The President immediately directed the American Minister at Santiago to demand explanation, apology and reparation for the insult and crime committed against the government of the United States. The Chilian authorities began to temporize with

the situation. A tedious investigation of the riot was undertaken in the courts of Santiago, resulting in an inconsequential verdict.

Meanwhile, Señor M. A. Matta, Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, added fuel to the flame by transmitting an offensive communication to Señor Pedro Montt, representative of the Chilean government at Washington, in which he reflected on the President of the United States, accused our government of falsehood, attacked Egan, and ended by instructing Montt *to let the contents of the note be known!* This was soon followed by another communication from Señor Matta, demanding the recall of Patrick Egan from the Chilean capital, as *persona non grata* to the government. But he failed to specify the particular qualities or acts in the American Minister which made him unacceptable.

The publication of these two notes brought matters to a crisis. The President, through the proper authorities, demanded that the offensive note of Matta be withdrawn; that the demand for the recall of Egan be reconsidered, and that reparation for the insults and wrongs done to the crew of the *Baltimore* be repaired with ample apology and salute to the American flag by the Chilean government. Answers to these demands were again delayed, and on the 25th of January, 1892, the President sent an elaborate message to Congress, laying before that body an account of the difficulties, and recommending such action as might be deemed necessary to uphold the honor of the United States. For a single day it looked like war.

Scarcely, however, had the President's message been delivered to Congress when the Chilean government, receding from its high-toned manner of offense and arrogance, sent, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, a paper of full apology for the wrongs done, and offering to submit the affair of the *Baltimore* to arbitration of some friendly

power. The offensive note of Senor Matta was unconditionally withdrawn. The demand for the removal of Egan was recalled, and indeed all reasonable points in the contention of the President freely and fully conceded. The crisis broke with the knowledge that the apology of Chili had been received, and like the recent difficulty with Italy over the New Orleans massacre, the imbroglio passed without further alarm or portent of war.

By the enactment of the McKinley Bill, certain kinds of industry in the United States were made prosperous to a degree; other industries were disparaged and retarded. The act was the ultimate expression of the high-protective policy. Never before in a time of peace had a civilized nation adopted such a schedule of discriminating duties on imports. The opponents of the measure denounced it as not only unwarrantable, but also unconstitutional. An action was made against the measure, and the cause was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. By that august tribunal the act was tested, and on the 29th of February, 1892, was declared to be constitutional. Meanwhile, measures had been taken to carry out, not only the protective, but also the reciprocal features of the McKinley law. Between the 10th and 30th of March, commercial treaties were framed between the United States on the one side, and France, Spain and several of the Central and South American States on the other, covering the principle of reciprocity in the future trade of our country with the nations referred to.

These measures were the last important civil acts of the administration of Harrison. The spring of 1892 brought around once more the crisis of a presidential election. As the time approached, the conditions that were to determine the contest became interesting and involved. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, had without doubt been anxious

for many years to reach the presidential chair. His abilities to be President were acknowledged even by his political opponents—this, too, while many of his political friends doubted his temper.

The sequel showed that disease had already attacked this remarkable personage, and marked the end of his career. During his incumbency as Secretary of State, he had been much harried by politicians, great and small, to become the candidate for the Presidency in 1892. It cannot be doubted that his influence in procuring the incongruous clause in favor of reciprocity in the McKinley Bill had furnished to the Republican party its only chance of success in the impending election. As the time for the nominating conventions drew near, Blaine—now a sick man—was more and more annoyed by both enemies and friends. His position in the cabinet when the President himself was a candidate for re-election placed him at a great disadvantage. The Secretary had announced that he would not be a candidate. His friends, however, continued to say that they had a right to nominate him if they desired to do so.

In the meantime the army of office-holders, numerous and strong, had rallied for the renomination of Harrison. Suddenly on the 3d of June, within four days of the meeting of the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis, Blaine resigned from the cabinet. His note to the President, and that of the latter to him, were severely formal. The National Convention met. Harrison was put in nomination, and so was Blaine; but the strength of the latter had now turned to weakness. Prejudice had arisen against him. The office-holding following of the administration in convention was able to cry out many things reflecting on the conduct and political character of the late Secretary. Benjamin Harrison was easily renominated; the small vote of Blaine melted away, and his star sank behind the hori-

zon. For Vice-President, Whitelaw Reid, late Minister to France, was nominated in place of Levi P. Morton, whose name was not offered to the convention.

The Republican platform declared for the policy of protection, with the principle of reciprocity added; for bimetallism, with the provision that the parity of values of gold and silver should be maintained. There should be an unrestricted ballot. The Monroe doctrine should be advanced and defended. The immigration of criminals and paupers and laborers under contract should be forbidden. The policy of Home Rule in Ireland deserved the sympathy of Americans; and the persecution of the Russian Jews was declared a barbarity. The proposed ship canal of Nicaragua should be controlled by the United States. Reasonable governmental aid should be given to the oncoming World's Columbian Exposition.

On the 21st of June, the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago. Many desultory and some threatening movements had been made in the Democratic party to prevent the nomination of Grover Cleveland, who was now for the third time recommended by a tremendous following for the Presidency. But this opposition could not organize itself—though backed by the powerful influence of Senator David B. Hill, of New York—and was impotent to prevent the success of the favorite. That remarkable personage was again nominated for the Presidency, and with him Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic platform declared allegiance to the Jeffersonian principles of government. Centralization of political power was deprecated. Federal control of elections was denounced, as was also that "sham" reciprocity which had been joined with the pernicious doctrine of protection. The laws should be enforced. Trusts should be controlled.

Silver should be coined freely with gold, but with parity of value. Civil service should be promoted. The Chinese, paupers and contract laborers should be prevented from immigration to the United States. The tax on state banks should be repealed. Soldiers should be pensioned, popular education favored, railroad employes protected by law, the "sweating system" abolished, employment of children in factories prohibited, and sumptuary laws opposed.

The National Convention of the Prohibitionists was held in Cincinnati, beginning on the 30th of June. General John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for President, and J. B. Cranfall, of Texas, for Vice-President. The platform declared for laws for the suppression of the liquor traffic; demanded equal suffrage for women; and governmental control of railroads and telegraphs; restriction of immigration; suppression of speculation in margins; free coinage of silver at existing ratio, and an increase in the volume of money; tariff for revenue, and proper protection against the influence of foreign nations.

The National Convention of the People's party assembled at Omaha on the 4th of July. The numbers in attendance and the enthusiasm showed conclusively a great increase in the following of this party, which now began to be designated as Populists. The platform declared in favor of the union of the labor forces of the United States in a common cause against corporate power, demanded governmental control of railroads, telegraphs and public corporations; demanded also the free coinage of silver at the existing ratio, and an increase in the circulating medium; also an income tax; also a system of government savings banks; also opposition to ownership of lands by aliens and corporations. On this platform General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Judge James B. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President, were nominated. With this *personnel* and under

these respective political banners the parties to the contest went to the people in the campaign of 1892.

About the time of the national conventions in this year began the distressing series of events which, with increasing volume, widened into all departments of American industry, blasting the fruits of labor and indicating in the industrial society of the United States the existence of profound and dangerous vices. On the 30th of June the managers of the great iron works at Homestead, a short distance from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, apprehending a strike of their operatives on account of a reduction of wages, declared a lockout, and closed the establishment. This was said to be done under the necessity of making repairs and the like ; but the dullest could not fail to understand the true intent of the corporation.

The operatives, thus wronged, assumed a threatening attitude ; and the managers sent secretly to the Pinkerton detective agency at Chicago for a force to protect the works. A large body of armed men was sent with the purpose of putting the same secretly into the works to defend the establishment. As the boat bearing the Pinkerton force came near to Homestead, it was fired on by the strikers, and a battle ensued, in which ten strikers and four detectives were killed. A very large number of the latter were wounded on the boat, and the whole were driven away. The strikers gained possession of the works ; the civil authorities were powerless ; and an appeal was made to the governor of the State.

The Pennsylvania National Guard to the number of 8,500 was called out, under proclamation of the governor. On the 12th of July a military occupation was established at Homestead, and was maintained for several weeks. The restoration of order was extremely difficult. The leaders of the strike were arrested. Superintendent Frick of the

iron works was attacked by an anarchist who attempted to assassinate him in his office. At length, under the necessity which the social order has to maintain itself, the original wrong done by Andrew Carnegie, proprietor of the works, and his subordinates, was enforced by law and by the power of the military. In the meantime the miners of the Cœur d'Alene mining region in far-off Idaho rose against a body of non-union workingmen, who had been introduced into the mines, killed many, and drove away the remainder. Railroad bridges and other property were destroyed, and a reign of terror established. It was not until the 17th of July that military rule prevailed over the rioters, whose leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

In a short time a dreadful scene of violence was enacted at Buffalo. A strike occurred of the switchmen of the Erie and Lehigh Valley railway at that city. The attempt was made to put the strikers down; whereupon they attacked the loaded freight trains standing on the side-tracks, and burned the cars by hundreds. The whole National Guard of New York was, on the 18th of August, summoned to the scene. The strikers were overawed, or dispersed. On the 24th of the month a settlement was reached, and the switchmen who had begun the strike returned, as far as possible, to their duties.

About this time an alarm came from the approach of cholera. That dreadful disease had broken out at Hamburg, and had desolated the city. The malady spread to Antwerp, Bremen and Havre, and found even in London and Liverpool a few points of infection. On the 31st of August the steamer *Moravia* arrived at New York from Hamburg, bearing the disease. The vessel was quarantined in the lower bay. Proclamation was made by the President requiring all ships from infected ports to be detained outside the danger line for twenty days. A few other steamers

beside the *Moravia* arrived with cholera on board, and the authorities of New York were obliged to contend with the disease until the coming of cold weather.

In due time the presidential election was held. Though the followers of Harrison had been able to force his re-nomination, they were not able to secure his re-election. Everything went overwhelmingly against the Republican party, and mostly in favor of the Democrats. Of the electoral votes, Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. Of the representatives in Congress elected, 217 were Democrats, 128 Republicans, and 8 Populists. The popular vote showed for Cleveland and Stevenson, 5,554,685; for Harrison and Reid, 5,172,343; for Weaver and Field, 1,040,600; for Bidwell and Cranfall, 273,314. Thus, by a remarkable change from the verdict of 1888, the defeated candidate of that year was restored to the Presidency by a popular plurality of nearly four hundred thousand votes.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE date now arrived for the celebration in the United States of the Fourth Centennial of the discovery of America by Columbus. The other nations conceded to our country and people the honor of holding a World's Columbian Exposition as a jubilee and commemoration of the giving of these continents to mankind by the Man of Genoa, in the years 1492-93.

The suggestion of holding a world's fair in America in 1892, in celebration of the quadricentennial of the New World, was first made in the year 1882. The idea was received with such favor that a general agitation of the project by the public press almost immediately followed. But nothing definite was done until the Paris Exposition of 1889 had further emphasized the importance of the celebration.

When the demand for such a fitting observance of the great event became urgent, cities began to contend for the honor, and Congress signified a willingness to hear the claims and proposals of contestants. Washington City, New York, Chicago and St. Louis entered the lists to secure the location, each with an agreement to provide suitable grounds and raise by subscription the sum of \$5,000,000 with which to erect buildings for the purpose. Chicago submitted her claims with an agreement to raise \$10,000,000 for the Exposition. Each city sent delegations of prominent citizens to press their respective claims before Congress. A decisive vote, after eight ballots, was reached by that body on February 24th, 1890, the result being as

follows: For Chicago, 157; for New York, 107; for St. Louis, 25; for Washington City, 18. It was thus determined by a very decisive majority that the fair should be held in Chicago, and the necessary enactments to make it a national enterprise soon followed. Pending the action of Congress, several of the leading citizens of that city took the preliminary steps for forming an organization under the laws of Illinois, taking as a title "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892."

On April 4th the Chicago corporation held its first meeting to discuss ways and means, and on the 12th following, a temporary organization was effected by the election of Edwin Walker, chairman. On the 25th of April, Congress passed, and the President approved, an act entitled "An act to provide for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures, and the products of the soil, mine and sea, in the city of Chicago." The act also created the World's Columbian Commission, thus establishing the legal title of the enterprise. At the same time it was provided by a supplemental act that a dedication of the Exposition buildings with appropriate ceremonies should take place October 12, 13 and 14, 1892. Five days later the Chicago Columbian Corporation effected a permanent organization, and the business of promoting the great Exposition was begun.

The promoters of this greatest of national expositions were prompted by higher and more liberal aims than had characterized the management of any previous world's fair. One particular feature was the recognition of women in full fellowship with men in the conduct of the Exposition. A woman's department was created by Act of Congress, and a board of lady managers was appointed by the President, in pursuance of the creating act. There was also appointed a board

of control and management of the government exhibit, as well as superintendents of the fifteen departments into which the Exposition was divided. The President also appointed commissioners of the fair for the several States ; and on the 24th of December, 1890, he issued a proclamation officially inviting all the nations of the earth to participate in the Exposition.

The inaugural ceremonies provided for were in two parts —those to be observed in the dedication of the *buildings* of the great Exposition to be given in October, 1892 ; and those attendant upon the *formal opening to visitors*, in May, 1893. It had been the original intention (and invitations to distinguished people throughout America were issued to that effect) to dedicate the buildings with imposing ceremonies on the 11th, 12th and 13th of October. But considerable delay attended the construction of the buildings, and it was deemed advisable to postpone the dedication until the 21st of the month, which was accordingly done ; and invitations announcing this fact were issued in August, 1892.

In the meantime other leading nations of the world had made preparations for commemorating the discovery of America, by observances of the most magnificent character. In Spain a royal decree was issued January 10th, 1891, providing for the appointment of a committee to organize and prepare for an appropriate celebration of the event. The decree provided that Portugal and the United States be invited to be represented, and through this committee arrangements were perfected on a gigantic scale for the national observance. A congress, commemorating the departure of Columbus, was held at Huelva, at which a model of the *Santa Maria* was exhibited, and the vessel, after being saluted by the government, was conveyed to her quarters, preparatory to sailing to America in January of the following year.

In Madrid there was also an exhibition of the arts and industries of the Columbian period. The exposition of these articles was opened on the 12th of September, 1892, and continued until December 31st, following. The exhibits were classified in historical order, beginning with plans, models, reproductions from American antiquities, everything showing evidence of having been used in human art in the New World. This exhibit of the habitations of man in all periods and all countries was one of the most interesting ever made at any exposition, excelling even the display at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Among other things there were plans and models of prehistoric American monuments, and of native arms, including arrows made of bone and horn, also of utensils of the copper and bronze ages; so that in some respects the exposition was a museum of the workmanships of the earliest races of mankind.

In August, there was opened an exhibition at Genoa, the birthplace of Columbus, which celebrated the quadricentennial under the auspices of the King and Queen of Italy. The exposition was confined to Italian and American products, but several original features were added to give it an international interest. A new opera, entitled *Columbus*, by Baron Franchetti, was presented before an audience of several thousand persons, among whom were the King and Queen, and all the dignitaries of Italy. A museum of Columbian antiquities was another feature of the exposition, which excited the curiosity of the masses, as well as the liveliest interest of antiquarians. On the evening of the 9th of September, a grand ball was given in the main building, which was pronounced the most magnificent social function ever held in any country. The King and Queen, together with their court, were among the participants.

On July 20th, 1892, an exposition was opened in Colombia, South America, continuing until October 31st. A

larger part of the collection of curios placed on exhibition in Colombia were sent to Chicago at the close of the Exposition, and made a part of the South American exhibits.

The preliminary steps of the organization having been completed and the necessary committees appointed, the World's Fair Corporation selected as a site best adapted for the Exposition and buildings, a tract of 663 acres, occupied by Jackson Park and Midway Plaisance, two of the principal Chicago parks. These have a lake frontage of a mile and a half. A selection of the site was followed with the opening of subscriptions, by which the sum of \$4,500,000 was secured upon the personal pledges of 29,374 persons, to which amount \$5,000,000 was added by an issue of Chicago City bonds. This enormous sum, however, was found to be inadequate for a proper preparation of the grounds and construction of the buildings according to the conceptions of the projectors, and an appeal to Congress was made for additional aid. The application was bitterly opposed by a large number of influential members, and upon a vote the scheme was defeated. But a compromise was reached by which the government agreed to issue souvenir coins of the value of fifty cents each, to the amount of \$2,500,000; and these were turned over at their face value to the World's Fair directors, who were privileged to dispose of them at whatever advantage they could obtain. Shrewd speculators, recognizing the demand that would be made for the souvenir coins, submitted various bids for the entire issue, one of which was finally accepted, by which the Association hoped to realize \$5,000,000, or double the face value of the coins. This large increase to the original fund encouraged the directory to carry out all the designs for buildings and improvements which they had conceived.

A considerable part of Jackson Park was unimproved and lay in large depressions which required a great amount of

filling. The waterways had to be dredged so as to admit sailing craft through the devious channels. Half a million dollars were spent in accomplishing this work, while as much more was expended on landscape gardening, fountains, observatories, statuary, etc. This outlay of a million dollars was but the beginning of the cost of the total improvements that were made necessary under the following estimates:

Grading, filling, etc., \$450,000; landscape gardening, \$323,090; viaducts and bridges, \$125,000; piers, \$70,000; railway improvements, \$225,000; railways, \$500,000; steam plant, \$800,000; electricity, \$1,500,000; statuary and buildings, \$100,000; vases, lamps and posts, \$50,000; seating, \$8,000; water supply, sewerage, etc., \$600,000; improvement of lake front, \$200,000; world's congress auxiliary, \$200,000; construction department expenses, \$520,000; organization and administration, \$3,308,563; operating expenses, \$1,550,000. Total, \$10,530,453. To this estimate there remained to be added the cost of the buildings proper, amounting to \$8,000,000, and the expenditures by the government, and several States, and foreign nations, which were approximately \$15,000,000 additional.

The sizes of the buildings constructed for the Exposition were as follows:

Administration, 262 x 262; Manufactures and Liberal Arts, 787 x 1687; Mines and Mining, 350 x 700; Electricity 345 x 690; Transportation, 256 x 960; Transportation Annex, 425 x 900; Woman's, 196 x 388; Art Galleries, 320 x 500; Art Gallery Annexes (2), 120 x 200; Fisheries, 165 x 365; Fisheries Annexes (2), 135 in diameter; Horticulture, 250 x 998; Horticulture Greenhouses (8), 24 x 100; Machinery, 592 x 846; Machinery Annex, 490 x 550; Machinery Power House, 461 x 490; Machinery Pumping Works, 77 x 84; Machinery Machine Shop, 106 x 250; Agriculture, 500

x 800; Agriculture Annex, 300 x 550; Agriculture Assembly Hall, 125 x 450; Forestry, 208 x 528; Saw Mill, 125 x 300; Dairy, 100 x 200; Live Stock (2), 65 x 200; Live Stock Pavilion, 280 x 440; Live Stock Sheds, to cover 40 acres; Casino, 120 x 250; Music Hall, 120 x 250; United States Government Building, 345 x 415; Imitation Battleship, 69 x 348; Illinois State Building, 160 x 450.

The total space occupied by these buildings was a fraction more than 159 acres. But, in addition to the above, every State provided its own building, as did also the foreign nations. The appropriations made by the United States and Territories for buildings aggregated \$1,500,000, while the following specific appropriations were made for exhibits:

Arizona, \$30,000; California, \$300,000; Colorado, \$100,000; Delaware, \$10,000; Idaho, \$20,000; Illinois, \$800,000; Indiana, \$75,000; Iowa, \$130,000; Kentucky, \$100,000; Maine, \$40,000; Maryland, \$60,000; Massachusetts, \$150,000; Michigan, \$100,000; Minnesota, \$50,000; Missouri, \$150,000; Montana, \$50,000; Nebraska, \$50,000; New Hampshire, \$35,000; New Jersey, \$70,000; New Mexico, \$25,000; New York, \$300,000; North Carolina, \$25,000; North Dakota, \$25,000; Ohio, \$125,000; Pennsylvania, \$300,000; Rhode Island, \$50,000; Vermont, \$15,000; Virginia, \$25,000; Washington, \$100,000; West Virginia, \$40,000; Wisconsin, \$65,000; Wyoming, \$30,000. Total of appropriations thus made, \$3,435,000.

Owing to constitutional restrictions, nine States were unable to make appropriations, but they were properly represented, organizations being formed, and stock subscriptions made in the following sums:

Alabama, \$50,000; Arkansas, \$40,000; Florida, \$200,000; Georgia, \$100,000; Kansas, \$100,000; Louisiana, \$50,000; Oregon, \$50,000; South Dakota, \$80,000; Texas, \$300,000; Utah, \$50,000. Total by stock subscriptions, \$1,020,000.

The following nations also voted appropriations for their respective exhibits:

Argentine Republic, \$100,000; Austria, \$102,300; Barbadoes, \$6,000; Belgium, \$57,900; Bermuda, \$3,000; Bolivia, \$30,700; Brazil, \$600,000; British Guiana, \$25,000; British Honduras, \$7,500; Canada, \$150,000; Cape Colony, \$50,000; Ceylon, \$65,600; United States of Colombia, \$150,000; Costa Rica, \$150,000; Cuba, \$25,000; Denmark, \$67,000; Dutch Guiana, \$10,000; Dutch West Indies, \$5,000; Ecuador, \$125,000; France, \$627,250; Germany, \$690,200; Great Britain, \$291,990; Greece, \$60,000; Guatemala, \$120,000; Hayti, \$25,000; Honduras, \$20,000; Jamaica, \$25,000; Japan, \$630,765; Leeward Islands, \$6,000; Mexico, \$50,000; New South Wales, \$150,000; New Zealand, \$27,500; Nicaragua, \$30,000; Norway, \$56,280; Orange Free State, \$7,500; Paraguay, \$100,000; Peru, \$140,000; Salvador, \$12,500; Sweden, \$23,600; Tasmania, \$10,000; Trinidad, \$15,000; Uruguay, \$24,000; Victoria, \$100,000. Total of appropriations made by foreign countries, \$4,952,585.

In addition to the above, the following countries were represented by exhibits made chiefly through individual enterprise, the expense of which in the aggregate was relatively very large, but the exact amounts are not obtainable:

Algeria, British Columbia, Bulgaria, Chili, China, Danish West Indies, Egypt, Erythria (Asia Minor), French Guiana, Hawaii, India, Italy, Corea, Liberia, Madagascar, Madeira, Malta, Mashonaland, Mauritius, Netherlands, Newfoundland, Persia, Porto Rico, Province of Quebec, Queensland, Roumania, Russia, San Domingo, Servia, Siam, South Australia, Spain, Switzerland, Transvaal, Turkey, Venezuela, West Australia.

With the coming of October 12th, 1892, nearly every town within the United States celebrated the quadricen-

tennial of the American discovery with some form of jubilation. Special preparations on a gigantic scale were made by New York City for an observance of the day. To prevent the threatened conflict between the celebration and the dedication of buildings at Chicago, Senator Hill, of New York, introduced a resolution to postpone the dedicatory ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition until October 21st, and this measure was adopted by both Houses of Congress. New York exerted herself to make her celebration memorable for its magnificence. The ceremonies began on Monday, October 10th, with a parade of school children, in which there were 25,000 in line; the procession passed in review before President Cleveland and the New York State officers.

On the following day interest was intensified by a grand naval parade in the harbor of New York, participated in by the fleets of nine great nations, affording one of the most imposing spectacles of modern times. The city was thronged with visitors as never before; the decorations cost \$1,000,000, and were of regal splendor. The shore of the bay was lined with excited spectators, who stood for hours watching with unabated interest the lines of ships that steamed in solemn procession from Gravesend Bay to the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. A perfect day bathed the city with sunshine, while a refreshing breeze invigorated the spectators. A grander sight had not been witnessed since the Spanish Armada sailed out of Lisbon in 1588 with the vain hope of subjugating the British Isles.

The ships started on their course at twelve o'clock, the order of movement being in three columns, with a distance of 300 yards intervening. The foreign vessels occupied the center, with those of the United States on either side. As the line entered the Narrows a salute of twenty-one guns

was fired from both shores. Then came the patrolling flotilla manned by the marines of New York. The United States torpedo boat *Cushing*, with D. Nicholson Kane, director of the naval parade, on board, came next. After this the majestic fleet moved slowly across the bay.

The United States flagship *Philadelphia* led the way of the visiting men-of-war. These were under the following officers: Commodore Henry Erben, U. S. N., commanding; Captain Albert S. Barker, Fleet Captain; Lieutenant-Commander Franklin Hanford, aid; Lieutenant-Commander Henry P. Mansfield, aid; Lieutenant Scudder Prime, aid. The vessels advanced in the following order:

United States steamer *Miantonomah*, Captain Montgomery Sicard.

United States flagship *Philadelphia*, Captain Albert S. Barker.

French flagship *L'Arethuse*, Rear-Admiral De le Brant.

United States steamer *Atlanta*, Captain F. H. Higginson.

United States steamer *Dolphin*, Commander W. S. Brownson.

French gunboat *Hussard*.

Coast-Survey steamer *Blake*, Lieutenant C. S. Veeland.

United States steamer *Vesuvius*, Lieutenant Seaton Shroder.

Italian cruiser *Bausan*.

United States ship *St. Mary*, Commander John McGowan.

Revenue steamer *Grant*, Captain Thomas Smith.

Spanish cruiser *Infanta Isabel*.

Lighthouse steamer *Armenia*.

Revenue steamer *Dexter*, Captain J. A. Slam.

United States steamer *Cushing*, Lieutenant McR. Winslow.

Accompanying the government vessels was a special

escort, comprising the Fire and Dock Department boats and fifteen yachts.

The Second Division consisted of seventeen yachts, among the number being several that are owned by prominent citizens of New York, such as the *Rival*, the *Golden Fleece*, the *Sea Warren*, the *Nourmahal*, the *Halcyon*, the *Conqueror*, the *Ituria*, the *Sapphire*, the *Orienta*, the *Clermont* and the *Corsair*.

The Third Division comprised twelve steamboats; the Fourth, fifteen steamboats; the Fifth, twenty-five steamboats and tugs; the Sixth, twenty-two tugs; the Seventh, twenty-eight propellers and steamboats; the Eighth, twenty-five tugs; the Ninth, eight merchant vessels; the Tenth, fourteen merchant vessels.

When the *Philadelphia* reached a point between the two forts at the Narrows, she was moving majestically at the head of a stately procession. Fort Hamilton began the salute, firing one of her 15-inch case-mated pieces. The national salute was fired at intervals of twenty seconds by each fort. Presently the men-of-war returned the salute, and for ten minutes the effect was like a bombardment.

On Liberty Island the four companies which compose the garrison had set up six guns, and, under Lieutenant Webster, began firing, when the *Philadelphia* arrived off the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. One of the sights of the parade was a series of gigantic floats, illustrating the progress in the art of shipbuilding since the time of Columbus. As the parade passed Battery Park a second salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The rumbling of the cannon had scarcely died away when the mighty host along the shores began to cheer. The shout was taken up by the assembled throng on the Battery, and the roar rolled along the shores of North River. The three columns of vessels moved on uninterruptedly until opposite Riverside Park,

where the ships cast anchor. Then Mayor Grant, with the municipal guests, passed along the line in his boat, and was greeted by a salute of twenty-one guns.

Other observances occurred in different parts of the city scarcely inferior to that of the naval procession. At eight o'clock there was a parade of 25,000 Catholics, which was reviewed at the Orphan Asylum by Archbishop Corrigan. At the same time there was a German choral festival in the Seventh Armory building, where a cantata, composed for the occasion by Dr. Mealannet, of Baltimore, was rendered by 4,000 voices. A display of fireworks on the Brooklyn Bridge began in the evening and lasted until midnight.

On the following morning the city was awakened by the booming of cannon. It was the day of great civic and military parade. The First Division was made up of soldiers from the United States Army in command of Colonel Loomis L. Langdon, U. S. A.; the United States military band; a battalion of cadets from West Point; three batteries from Fort Hamilton; three from Fort Wadsworth; two from Fort Columbus; three from Fort Adams; two from Fort Schuyler; the First Artillery from Fort Hamilton, and Battery B from Fort Adams.

The Second Division was composed of the United States Naval Brigade in command of Lieutenant-Commander Asa Walker. There were over twelve hundred cadets and marines in this division.

The Third Division consisted of about eight thousand militiamen from New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

The Fourth Division was made up of divisions of the Grand Army of the Republic, and numbered 8,000 veterans and about thirty-five hundred sons of veterans.

The Fifth Division consisted of letter carriers to the number of 1,500. In the Sixth Division were companies

from the New York and visiting fire departments, about one thousand in number.

There were 4,500 men in the Seventh Division. It was composed of fifteen brigades of exempt volunteers and veteran firemen's associations; the Second Regiment of the Fire Zouaves; Seventy-third Regiment of Volunteers; the Volunteer Firemen's Association of New York City, 800 men and engines; Veteran Firemen's Association of New London, 150 men and engine; Veteran Firemen's Association of Utica, N. Y.

The Eighth Division was composed of Italian and French military organizations. It numbered 2,500 men.

There were 4,000 men in the Ninth Division, representing the German-American societies. The Tenth Division was made up of different organizations and contained about twelve thousand men, and aside from the independent organizations there were 8,000 members of the Landwehr-Verein.

The line of march was to Fifty-ninth Street, where the ceremonies attendant upon the unveiling of the Columbus monument were held. Among those who took part were: Vice-President Morton; Governor Flower and staff; Senator Hill; the officers of the Italian cruiser *Bausan*. Addresses were made by Carlo Barsetti, president of the Columbus Monument Executive Committee; General Lingi Palma d' Cesnola, in behalf of the Italian residents of America; Di Lingi Reversi, in behalf of *Il Progresso Italo-American*o; his Excellency Baron Saverio Fava, Italian Minister, in behalf of the Italian government; his Honor Hugh J. Grant; his Excellency Roswell P. Flower, governor of New York, and Charles G. F. Wahle, Jr., secretary of the Committee of One Hundred. Archbishop Corrigan blessed the monument and it was unveiled by Annie Barsetti, daughter of the president of the Columbus Monument Executive Com-

mittee. During the ceremonies the Italian band played Italian and American hymns, and the battery gave the national salute.

The decorations of private and public buildings for the Columbus festivities in New York were estimated to have cost over one million dollars. Including the fireworks, gunpowder, illuminations, etc., the total cost of the celebration probably exceeded two million dollars. The event was alike successful and honorable to New York City and the nation.

Some of the arches under which the great procession marched were exquisitely designed, notably the Columbus memorial arch, erected at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street. The military part of the parade disbanded after passing under this arch, and the festivities were concluded with a banquet and ball given in the building of the Lenox Lyceum.

As early as the 18th of October the crowds began to pour into Chicago from every part of the earth. There had gathered no fewer than one million visitors. Never before in history had so many people assembled on a festal occasion. The pent-up enthusiasm of a century broke in a tidal wave. Four hundred years, with their blessings and marvelous progress, were to receive the offerings of a world's applause, and be bathed with libations of gratitude.

The dedicatory festivities began with an inaugural reception, banquet and ball, at the Auditorium, on the evening of the 19th. Four thousand invitations were issued to the most prominent personages in America, and to the representatives of foreign powers. The President of the United States was unable to be present owing to the fatal illness of Mrs. Harrison, and the duties which he was expected to perform were devolved upon Vice-President Morton. A more distinguished gathering was never known among men, and the wealth of ornamentation was in harmony with the

beauty and importance of the assemblage. The cabinet, judges of the supreme court, diplomatic corps, governors, army officers, mayors of leading cities, world's fair officials, and the fairest women in the land were gathered at the banquet. The reception and ball was given in the Auditorium, but the banquet was spread on the top floor of the adjoining Studebaker building, which had been made an annex by cutting arched passages connecting it with the Auditorium.

Thursday, October 20, was appointed as a day of parade, in which one hundred thousand persons were to participate. Early in the morning vast crowds began to gather and occupy places along the sidewalks. The line was not formed until after the noon hour, and it was nearly two o'clock before the signal was given for the procession to move. The march was by double rank, twenty-five file front, over the following route: Forming on Michigan Avenue, north to Lake Street, west to State, south to Adams, west past the reviewing stand at the post-office to Franklin, thence south to Jackson, east to State, and south to Congress, where the procession ended.

Fully one hundred thousand men were in line. Uniforms were worn by many of the marching bodies. The crowds that viewed the spectacle were almost infinite. The sidewalks along the entire line were crowded with humanity; the housetops were black with masses, and every window along the way was alive with eager faces. To the natural points of view were added tier upon tier of seats, starting upon raised platforms and lifted to the eaves of the houses. The thrill of exultation was nowhere so manifest as when, in regular step, with banners held aloft, the wonderful array of humanity filed into the space in front of the reviewing stand.

Chicago on the day succeeding was densely thronged in all her avenues, hotels and conveyances. This was the day

set apart for dedicating the World's Fair buildings. It appeared to the observer that the entire population of the United States had come to Chicago to witness the ceremonies. As early as seven o'clock the movement toward Jackson Park began, the pressure increasing as the hours advanced. By street cars, elevated roads, Illinois Central trains and steamboats, all classes and conditions made their way.

Michigan Avenue and lake front were soon thronged with people. The nodding plumes of advancing cavalrymen were seen toward the south, followed by troop after troop, wheeling into line and forming in front of the Auditorium, where they were joined by four batteries of artillery. The regulars were an escort to the Vice-President, cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries of Church and State, who were to take part in the exercises. Every adjacent street was lined with carriages, waiting for distinguished occupants; twenty rounds from the batteries was the signal for the march to begin.

The procession moved southward with General Nelson Miles and his staff at the head of a company of cavalrymen whose yellow plumes, bright uniforms and brilliant caparisons rendered the scene one of great spirit. Following these was a mounted military band leading a troop of cavalry in a solid line twelve deep. These in turn preceded a troop of white cavalry, and Indian and colored dragoons, while behind was a regular battery, followed by a section of the National Guard, preceding sixty Toledo cadets on bicycles. In the rear was a long line of carriages bearing the distinguished personages that were to officiate in the dedication, led by Vice-President Morton, who was accompanied by President Palmer, of the World's Fair Commission. Then came other carriages filled with cabinet members, judges, governors and World's Fair officials, the whole forming a procession more than a mile in length.

One hundred and fifty thousand invitations had been issued, admitting the holders to the Manufactures Building ; seats were provided for 120,000 persons, and every seat was occupied. The dedicatory exercises were perhaps the most imposing ever witnessed, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. The night jubilee consisted of the grandest display of fireworks that the world had ever seen. Three exhibitions were arranged to take place simultaneously in Washington Park on the south, Lincoln Park on the north, and Garfield Park on the west side, each display being a counterpart of the other, and the programs identical. It is estimated that more than half a million people were witnesses of the three displays, which were under the direction of James Pain & Sons.

The exhibition began shortly after eight o'clock with a discharge of 100 fifteen-inch maroons. These went blazing through the canopy of night to an altitude of 800 feet, where they exploded like a fiery eruption of the heavens and fell back in a thousand flaming streams. This beautiful effect was followed by a dazzling illumination of the parks with 500 prismatic lights. These were set off simultaneously by means of electricity, and changed colors five times, flooding the landscape with red, white and blue, and leaving an expiring tint of terra-cotta as a recognition of the newly adopted municipal colors of Chicago.

In each of the parks five bombshells, sixty inches in circumference, and of a weight of 110 pounds, were projected from mortars to an altitude of 700 feet, where they exploded with deafening detonations and filled the sky with a picture of fiery splendor. One of the most novel and interesting pieces in the display was representations of the American flag floating in the sky *at a height of 2,000 feet!* The flag was 300 feet in length and presented a design never before attempted in aerial work. It was attached to

a balloon, under the control of Professor Baldwin, the aeronaut, who carried it to the required altitude, and then lighted the fuse connected with the flag. A marvelous thing followed. Almost instantly the banner spread itself like a canopy, and taking fire, burned for five minutes with all its colors intensified, thus affording a spectacle of grandeur that had never been exceeded at any pyrotechnic exhibition.

There were several set fire-pieces upon which the best artists of the world had been engaged for many months. These produced original and magnificent effects. One of the pieces occupied 2,000 square feet of space and bore the inscription in flame: "Chicago Welcomes the Nations of the Earth—1492-1892." This flaming legend was supported by two fiery eagles, and above them was a similitude of the prominent Columbian Exposition buildings.

The next set piece covered 2,500 square feet and presented in fire the sailing of Columbus from Palos. The fleet of three vessels, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*, was beautifully exhibited riding on a fiery sea. This was the largest piece ever shown in any pyrotechnic display. As a companion piece there was a fiery reproduction, on a similar scale, of the landing of Columbus on the island of San Salvador, representing him in the act of planting the standard of Ferdinand and Isabella in the presence of an awe-stricken group of Indians. Another piece showed Vesuvius in a state of eruption. It looked as if the center of the lake shore in front of the spectators' stand was a belching crater. When the volcano died out the flame spread along the plaza till it took the form of a forest fire. When the flaming trees had burned, the scene assumed the appearance of a prairie fire, the flames creeping along and licking the dust in every direction.

Then the mortar again shot up globes that burst and filled

the sky with showers of every hue. Thousands of people on the grand stand, in Lincoln Park, rose to take in the splendid view of the Grant monument. The bronze features of the General were never more brilliantly displayed than they were in the glory of that gorgeous illumination.

Five hundred four-pound colored rockets were fired simultaneously from three positions, blending continuously in varied tints. This was followed by the discharge from a mortar of fifty fifteen-inch shells, representing poppies in a cornfield. In the background appeared a nest of fiery cobras, that writhed against the sky. Three huge fountains of fire belched forth along the line. Shells burst to the left and right, representing Indian jugglery, prismatic torrents and Venetian national colors. For 400 feet along the plaza one ton of material lit up the waters of the lagoon with colored lights, while small pieces representing sheaves of wheat appeared at intervals.

A grand feature of the exhibition was the Columbian bouquet, produced by a discharge of 5,000 large rockets. This was followed by a silver fire wheel, over twenty feet in diameter, with intersecting centers. On each side of the wheel were two others which scattered circles of golden fire. For several minutes numerous small pieces occupied the attention of the spectators, representing swarms of fireflies, bouquets, star-spangled banners and fiery serpents. The last and grandest piece of the evening was a representation of Niagara Falls. A torrent of fire 400 feet long poured down from the top of a frame, a distance of fifty feet, mingling with the waters of the lagoon.

The dedication of the World's Fair proper was concluded on Friday, October 21st, but the presence of so many notables from all parts of the world, as well as the attendance of large bodies of the military, prompted the representatives of several States to seize the opportunity for making an

imposing dedication of the State buildings that were nearing completion. Programs were accordingly prepared for the formal opening of six of the Commonwealth buildings as an appropriate sequel to the general exercises of the week.

Thus were the ceremonies of dedication concluded. The immense crowds of people that had come to Chicago from every point of the compass began to depart. The crowds in the stations on Saturday night were very great, yet the accommodations appeared to be ample, as they had been in the city during the several days of the celebration. Every expression was a congratulation or plaudit for the magnificent sights the people had witnessed, and with which the nation had been inspired.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

THE interval between the dedication of the buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago and the opening of that Exposition in the following May was filled with the presidential election, with the excitements consequent thereon, and with the change of administrations, on the 4th of March, 1893.

The victorious Democratic party again went into power, not only in the Executive Department, but in both branches of Congress. In the Senate, however, the majority of that party was so small and unstable as to make uncertain any measures other than those upon which there was complete harmony of opinion. President Cleveland went back to the White House with a tremendous support from the people at large, and only a modified support from his own party. He was committed to two lines of policy concerning which there was a marked want of concurrence with his views--to two principles which were destined to be the reefs on which his popularity and influence were to be shaken and virtually wrecked before the close of his administration.

The first of these was the policy of a reform in the tariff, which if carried out must needs lose him the support of all the manufacturing monopolies in the country. The second was his determined and sullen opposition to that system of bimetallic coinage which, from being the constitutional system and unvarying policy of the United States from the foundation of our government to 1873, had been broken down in the interest of the gold-producing nations, with

the general result of the substitution in our own currency of a long dollar, worth about a hundred and sixty cents, for the dollar of the law and the contract. The attitude of the President on this question, though highly acceptable to the interested fund-holding and debt-holding classes in the United States and throughout the world, was adverse to the interests of all the producers and debtors of the world, to an extent that can hardly be reckoned with the arithmetic of money values.

The new cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton, of Nebraska; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

In the President's inaugural address he followed the obvious lines of his well-known policy. He dwelt in particular upon the necessity of a complete reform in the revenue system of the United States, urging upon Congress the duty of substituting for high protection the policy of customs-duties for revenue, with only such incidental protective features as might appear in the nature of the case. From the very beginning, however, it was manifest that the adoption of the new policy was to be hampered and impeded by every kind of cross-purpose known in legislative bodies, and in particular by the interests of those who were the representatives of the protected industries.

From this condition of civil and political affairs, the attention and interest of the people were soon fortunately directed to another and more humane aspect of civilization. On the 31st of May, 1893, the World's Columbian Exposi-

tion was opened amid salvos of exultation by President Cleveland, who pressed an electric button and set all the immense machinery in motion. The firing of cannons, the waving of flags, the playing of bands, were the vehement manifestations of the general rejoicing. The marvelous "White City" of architectural splendors now presented a sight that was dazzlingly beautiful. To the visitor it seemed a dream of Oriental magnificence, affording such an object lesson of energy, capacity and genius as no other country had ever revealed.

It was quite two months after the opening before the disturbing sounds of saw, hammer and rumbling wagons ceased. The unsightly scaffolding was at length removed; all the exhibits were disposed, and the gigantic Fair was presented in its perfected and symmetrical grandeur. No transformation scene was ever more extraordinary than that which revealed Jackson Park converted from a wild, semi-chaotic covert of tangled brushwood and noxious marsh into a Heliopolis of splendor, made beautiful by the sublimest arts that ever found expression.

The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building held its proud position as the most imposing structure ever reared on earth. It occupied an area of more than thirty acres, lifting its imperious towers to an altitude of 250 feet. But though excelling in proportions, the Manufactures Building held no other pre-eminence above the many other structures in Jackson Park. So varied, so select, so excellent, so beautiful, so artistic and so gigantic were these edifices, that all the wealth of the globe seemed to be here gathered and expressed as the expression of peace triumphant.

The architecture of many buildings showed a wide range of treatment; yet in the style and grouping there was a remarkable harmony—a blending of color and design as charming as unique. The material used in the construction

was necessarily perishable—to the end that the most imposing effects might be produced at a minimum of cost. It required a genius of economy to construct a magnificent palace at the expense of a few thousand dollars; but the genius was not wanting for the work. A cheap material was found in "staff," a composition of cement and plaster-of-paris, possessing little endurance, but having, when properly applied, the appearance of white stone. Over the skeleton structure of the several buildings this composition was laid, giving to them the appearance of marble palaces. The embellishment of statuary was added in the same manner. The roadways were artistically laid out, and substantially made of macadam, with a top dressing of red gravel, while the lagoon of stagnant water was converted, into a Venetian canal that wound through the Park in a most picturesque manner.

Over the course of this beautiful canal a number of electric launches and gondolas plied, carrying throngs of delighted passengers. Communication between various parts of the ground was facilitated also by means of an elevated intramural railway. This made a circuit of the whole area at such a rate of speed as rendered the aerial voyage exceedingly agreeable. A refreshing and restful ride was likewise provided by what was known as the movable sidewalk, a unique application of the principle of the endless chain. A double platform was operated at different rates of speed, so as to enable passengers to step on or off while the sidewalk was in motion. On the speedier platform seats were arranged, and on these the passengers were carried over a pier that extended one thousand feet into the lake. Roller, or invalid, chairs were used by those who could afford the luxury of such conveyance.

To give a satisfactory description of all the exhibits of the Exposition would require volumes. All nations and

lands being represented, the Fair was a universal, commercial and ethnographic congress, in which were brought together all conceivable products of forge, loom, field and finger; a place where gathered all races of men from the Esquimaux to the Equatorial blacks; and where cannibal savagery shook hands with the highest types of civilization.

While it is not desirable to describe all the hundreds of thousands of wonderful and beautiful displays, yet some of the exhibits were such as to require the particular attention of the reader.

The Government Building was filled with objects that claimed the closest interest, and, next to Manufactures Building drew the largest crowds of visitors. The exhibits included many things of special interest and curiosity. Here were displayed the most ancient as well as the most improved implements of war. Here were gathered the firelocks, fuses, arquebuses, matchlocks, blunderbusses and other obsolete firearms, arranged in such a manner as to show the evolution of weaponry—to display in comparison with the latest revolving breech-loading arms and the heaviest cannon for coast defenses, the rudest weapons of savagery. Besides these was placed an arsenal in which the machinery for boring great guns was in operation, and the making of cartridges was illustrated by the actual industry. All the arts of war were admirably represented by figures in proper uniform; the pontoon corps, sappers and miners, the topographic corps, signal corps, field hospitals, and effigies of privates, officers, troopers and foot soldiers with the uniforms and accouterments of the whole world militant.

In another department of the same building was the fishery exhibit, with examples of nearly every fresh and salt water fish and fur-bearing pelagic animal. A large fish-hatching establishment was also shown in operation; and

a display was made of boats and implements used in the whale, cod and sturgeon fisheries.

Between the Government Building and the lake was a broad plaza where several pieces of ordnance were mounted, including rifled cannon, mortars and rapid-firing guns. Near the water's edge, by the walk, were sections of heavy ship-armor that had been pierced by steel-pointed shells, exhibiting the extraordinary penetrating power of improved projectiles. A full-sized battle-ship, with mounted guns and a complete complement of men and officers, lay alongside the pier, on which were daily naval drills. Near by was a life-saving station with full equipment of boats and accessories. The numerous white tents, in which the members were quartered, added the general appearance of an army encamped in the midst of the tremendous implements of war.

A curious sight in this vicinity was the Viking ship, from Norway. The antique vessel was manned by a crew of Norwegian sailors. The Viking scallop lay moored beside the shore near the battle-ship. It was a copy, down to the minutest detail of construction, of the ship found at Gokstad, Norway, in 1889—a vessel supposed to have sailed the seas one thousand years ago. The old relic of the Vikings is now sacredly preserved in the National Museum at Christiania. The new, like the old, was an open boat seventy-five feet in length over all, sixty-seven and one-half feet at the water line, and sixty feet of keel. The propulsion was by means of a square sail, or by oars when the weather permitted their use.

In this open boat, in the early summer of 1893, Captain Magnus Anderson and eleven companions came from Bergen, Norway, to New London, Conn., in forty-three days. The daring company passed safely through more than one severe storm, and with fair wind and smooth sailing averaging ten or twelve miles an hour, came bravely through the

North Atlantic. This nautical feat makes that of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina* seem insignificant. It was in such a craft, or canoe, that Leif Ericson made his voyage from Greenland to the then unknown regions of the midnight land of the West in the year 985; such a vessel first touched the shores of the New World. The successful passage of the Atlantic by this frail craft must effectually remove all doubt as to the ability of Ericson, Thorfinn Karlsefne and Björne, those adventurous Vikings of the tenth century, to accomplish the voyages credited to them by the Sagas.

Below the Viking ship, and in front of the Government Building, was anchored a reproduction of the fleet in which Columbus made his first voyage of discovery. The *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*, each manned by a Spanish crew, and each built to reproduce the original, even to cordage, equipment, armament and colors, were among the great wonders of the Exposition. The three vessels had already participated in the naval review and celebration of the New World discovery, August 3, 1892, at Palos, the port of departure. In February following, the vessels sailed for America, the *Nina* and the *Pinta* being under escort of the United States cruisers *Bennington* and *Newark*, and the *Santa Maria* accompanied by a Spanish man-of-war. The squadron arrived at Hampton Roads, April 21st, 1893—the place of rendezvous of the foreign and American navies that appeared in the great naval parade in New York. After their participation in that great event the three vessels were sent in tow, by way of the St. Lawrence and lake route, to Chicago, where they arrived in due season and were given a national welcome.

Near by the three Columbian ships, on an elevation overlooking the lake, was a reproduction of the Palos Convent of La Rabida, where Columbus once and again halted in a

half-famished condition. There he besought the good Father Perez to give a morsel of food to stay the hunger of himself and his son Diego. Every detail of the convent was in reproduction of La Rabida. Its quaint rooms were filled with Columbian relics, including a casket in which reposed for a while the bones of the great discoverer.

South of the La Rabida Convent was a building of considerable size, devoted to Krupp's exhibit of great guns for field, siege and fortress and man-of-war. Here might be seen the greatest display of giant weaponry that was ever made. Among the collection, rising about its fellow engines of destruction, was a 122-ton gun, the largest that the great German cannon-maker has ever produced. It constituted a wonder worth miles of travel. The 1,200-pound steel-pointed projectile lay in a cradle of the hydraulic loading-crane beside the gun, and likewise a canister bag containing 600 pounds of powder to be used in propelling the tremendous thunderbolt to a distance of twenty miles. This immense gun, and its machinery for loading and firing, required a large ship for its transportation across the ocean, and two specially-made steel cars for its conveyance to Chicago. As a mark of his respect for America, Krupp presented the gun and its machinery to the city of Chicago, where it remains permanently, an enduring symbol of the reign of force and a memento of the Columbian Exposition.

Still further towards the south was an Esquimaux village, and an Alaskan exhibit of natives, boats, huts and totem poles. Beyond these a little way were teocallis, or prehistoric Central American temples. Near by was a reproduction of the cliff-dwellings of the Rio Moncos Cañon, in southwest Colorado. In the museum were implements of stone and bone, and also numerous utensils of domestic use made of clay; also mats, sandals and wrappings deftly woven from the yucca palm, to the raising of which the cliff-

dwellers devoted most of their labors. Here were also shown a score or more of skulls, and several mummied bodies of this ancient and extinct race.

The Fine Arts Building was situated at the north end of the lagoon, from which the structure arose in classical grandeur. Those who sailed the lagoon might alight from the gondolas on broad flights of stone steps leading up through the colonnade to the southern portal. Besides the principal structure, there were two annexes, in like architectural style. In this building were displayed the art products—the paintings in particular—of all the nations of the world. Certain it is that no other exhibit of pictorial glories, with the possible exception of that of the Paris Exposition of 1889, ever rivaled the display here made in the art department of the Columbian Fair held in an American city, founded within the memory of men still living!

It is not practicable within the limits of this work to enter into a detailed account of the thousands of art trophies exhibited at the great Exposition. Perhaps the most splendid of all the displays was that of France, though there were not wanting many critics who conceded the palm to the artists of Great Britain. Some considered the display made by the artists of the United States equal to any other. The departments of Austria and Belgium were also of the highest merit. The Slavic artists, both Russians and Poles, contributed many pictures worthy of immortality. It is probable that the French section in which the high-light and realistic paintings were exhibited was the most splendid of all. Here, though the throngs were not equal to those ever present among the displays of material industries and merely useful arts, the intellectual and ideal men and women of great races gathered from day to day, feasting their eyes upon the most magnificent products of the human genius.

Only a few of the splendid paintings of the Exposition may here be mentioned. Of these, the following list will give no more than a hint of that world of pictorial wonders with which the walls of the building of Fine Arts were so magnificently adorned :

"The Hunt Ball," by Jules L. Stewart, United States ; "The Gambler's Wife," by Marcus Stone, England ; "The Last Rays of the Sun," by Louis Emile Adan, France ; "A Reading from Homer," by Alma Tadema, England ; "On the Yacht Namouna," by Jules L. Stewart, United States ; "Sunday Morning in Norway," by Hans Dahl, Norway ; "Presentation of Richelieu to Henry IV.," by G. Aureli, France ; "End of Summer," by R. Collin, France ; "Suffer Little Children to Come unto Me," by Julius Schmid, Austria ; "Going Home," by A. Marais, France ; "Evening Song," by F. Zmurko, Poland ; "The Betrothal," by G. Rochegrosse, France ; "The Old Shepherd," by Aime Perret, France ; "Mass in Brittany," by Walter Gay, United States ; "Tullia," by Ernst Hildebrande, Germany ; "Evicted," by L. Gasperini, Italy ; "Narofjord," Norway, by A. Normann, Germany ; "The Cloister Kitchen," by Edouard Grutzner, Germany ; "The Innocent Victim," by Seymour S. Thomas, United States ; "Public Whipping in Barcelona," by F. Galofre Oller, Spain ; "Algerian Women on the Terrace," by G. Simoni, Italy ; "A Bearer of Despatches," by A. de Neuville, France ; "The Sick Bed," by H. Lessing, Germany ; "End of the Wheat Harvest," by J. J. Veyrassat, Holland ; "Love's Dream," by W. J. Martens, Holland ; "Leif Ericson," by Christian Krohg, Norway ; "Summer," by W. Reynolds Stephens, England ; "On the Thames," by Eugene Vail, United States ; "The Empty Saddle," by S. E. Waller, England ; "The Women at the Tomb" and "Our Lady of the Angels," by W. A. Bouguereau, France ; "Young Girls Going to the Procession," by Jules Breton,

France ; "Contrast," by Rogent Lorenzale, Spain ; "Soap Bubbles," by Elizabeth Gardner, United States ; "Washington and his Mother," by Louis Edouard Fournier, France ; "Romeo and Juliet," by Constantin Makovsky, Russia ; "The Menagerie," by Paul Meyerheim, Germany.

Nearly opposite the building of Fine Arts, at the other entrance of the lagoon, was the great structure devoted to the display of electrical apparatus and phenomena. This exhibit was perhaps the most characteristic of all in this—it represented the scientific spirit of our age. No such display of the wonders of electricity and of the machines and contrivances in which that mighty and all-pervading force has been made to show its sublime results was ever before possible—not even at the Paris Exhibition of 1889 ; for even the quadrennium intervening had wrought wonders in the progress of the electrical arts. If the visitors to the Department of Fine Arts included the idealists, the dreamers and poets of the world, those who thronged the building in which the electrical display was made included the thinkers, inventors and forerunners of mankind in all those arts that have force for their minister and contrivance for their visible expression.

Over to the west was placed what was known as the Transportation Building. The fundamental idea in this great structure and in the display made therein was to exhibit in orderly succession the various stages of progress made by man in his means of locomotion and conveyance. The exhibits in this department were arranged in order of chronological development, showing each stage from the rudest contrivance of barbarians and savages to the most splendid and perfect means of transportation in our day—from the lumbering cart on land and the rude dugout on running stream to the magnificent train of parlor cars and sleeping coaches and the greatest steamships that plow the

deep. The entrance, or doorway, to the Transportation Building, designed by the architect Sullivan, was one of the glories of the World's Columbian Exposition, being declared by many to be the most splendid entrance ever constructed by man.

Space fails in which to enumerate even the leading edifices in which the great Exposition of the works of the human race was made. The exhibit of Fish and Fisheries was given in a building not far from the eastern annex of the Fine Arts Building. Here, in huge tanks, were arranged in scientific order, all the known species of fresh-water fishes, and all the more important variety of fishes from the sea. These might be seen, as in their native habitats, sporting and feeding and reproducing in the manner of nature. Here were sharks, dogfish, rays, skates, flounders, gunards, lampreys, lobsters, crabs, soles, star-fish, and fresh-water creatures, from whales to infusoriæ.

The peaceful aspects and beautiful products of the natural world were displayed in the Horticultural Building where were gathered nearly all the varieties of flowers and fruits growing in the world. Here the visitor might study the varying products of the earth, from the giant ferns of Australia to the hardy lichens of the arctic coasts; from the bread-fruit of the tropics to the apples of Siberia; from the roses of Persia to the microscopic blossoms of the snow-cliffs of the Sierras.

Among the features of interest at the World's Columbian Exposition was the Midway Plaisance, lying between Jackson and Washington Parks. This celebrated place may be regarded as a sort of ethnological adjunct to the Exposition proper. It was a feature which, like all other things, has grown from small beginnings. The origin of it may be traced back as far as the Crystal Palace Exposition at London, in 1851. The Plaisance was about a mile in length,

and quarter of a mile in width. It had the form of a broad street, or avenue, with the exhibits, or features, arranged on either side. The shows here gathered were essentially racial—ethnological. Nearly all the half-civilized nations of the world had sent thither colonies of their people, bringing their architecture, rude arts and customs with them. The historical element was not wanting; for many of the establishments represented former aspects of the social life and industries of mankind. Such was the Irish village, and such was the old German keep, or castle, with its narrow ways and surrounding moat and bridges. The Javanese village was one of many of its kind, showing, as if in object lesson, the natives of remote and insular regions in the same habits and surroundings as in their own country. Of this kind was the village of Samoans, and of similar order were the establishments of the Chinese, the Algerians, the Moors and the Copts. Oriental theaters were another feature of the Plaisance, in which the Western races were able to witness as in the East the dramatical plays and sensuous dances of the North African and West Asian peoples. The advantage of the things to be seen in the Plaisance and of a knowledge of them to the historical and ethnical inquirer was very great; but the vicious classes made these object lessons of the Orient to be no more than a gratification of the baser feelings and mere sensual curiosity.

Any sketch of the World's Columbian Exposition would be incomplete which did not mention with some note of wonder and praise the gigantic wheel erected in Jackson Park, from designs and plans formed by a young engineer of Illinois, named G. W. G. Ferris. This daring projector of the greatest revolving spectacle ever witnessed by man was a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y. Though only thirty-five years of age, he had already distinguished himself as a builder of cantilever bridges. The

Ferris wheel was little short of a miracle. It was made for the most part of steel. The materials were prepared at Detroit. The central shaft was forty-five feet in length and thirty-two inches in diameter. This was raised to the gudgeons in which it revolved at a height of a hundred and forty feet. The circumference of the wheel was occupied with thirty-six passenger cars, hung in the outer rim, each car having a capacity of fifty passengers. The cars, in going over, rose to the height of 268 feet from the earth. The passengers in going over rose skyward until they might have looked down a distance of fifty feet on the top of Bunker Hill monument, if that tremendous obelisk had stood near by. The building skill of Ferris in the construction of this monstrous contrivance was not only vindicated, but the enterprise itself proved to be popular and highly profitable to the management.

Connected with the World's Columbian Exposition were a number of notable congresses. The chief of these was the Congress of Religions, the sessions of which were held during the latter half of September. At this remarkable meeting were gathered representatives of nearly all the great religions and philosophies of mankind. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians and Christians sat down together in amity, and discussed for many days the tenets of their respective faiths and the points of excellence which each claimed for his own.

It had been the purpose of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition to close the same on the 30th of October. It was intended to make that day, if possible, the most glorious of all the days of the memorable summer. An elaborate program was prepared, and great preparations made for the closing exercises, when suddenly, on the 28th of the month, the city was plunged into consternation and grief by the assassination in his own house of Mayor Carter

H. Garrison, to whose great abilities, persistency and unwearyed exertion not a little of the success of the World's Fair should be attributed. It had been his duty for fully six months to act as the representative of the city in its relations with distinguished foreign visitors, committees, delegations and the like, and in all of these duties he had borne himself with distinguished ability and dignity. A lunatic named Pendergast conceived that the Mayor should have appointed him to office, and under this hallucination gained entrance to the Mayor's home, and shot him dead. The ceremonies that had been planned for the close of the Exposition were accordingly abandoned, and on the 30th of the month the October sun went down on the so-called "White City," over which funereal silence settled with the night.

The great structures demanded for the accommodation of the World's Columbian Exposition cost approximately nineteen millions of dollars! Nor does it appear that the construction was other than economical. Nearly every edifice in Jackson Park was erected for the summer, and without respect to permanence. It would appear that in this particular the management was at fault. Perhaps it was not foreseen that the tremendous creations of the year could not be removed and destroyed without producing a sentiment of regret, if not of actual pain, to the whole American people. It had been wiser that a considerable part of the buildings at least should be permanent. The managers of Jackson Park, however, had decreed otherwise. The foolish edict was that the Park should be restored, as nearly as possible, to its former condition—a thing virtually impossible.

After the Exposition, the demolition of the White City was undertaken. To the eye the work was as if the Goths and Vandals of ten ages had been loosed to do their will on

the sublimest culture of the nineteenth century. While the work of tearing down and removing the great buildings was in progress, a fire broke out, which became first a conflagration, and afterward a tornado of flaming horror, the light of which might have been visible a hundred miles. The elements conspired at the last to reduce to gas and ashes the residue of that sublime aggregation of structures, the equal of which had not hitherto been seen by the sons of men.

To the nineteen million dollars expended for buildings was added the expenditure of about ten millions in other outlays. The total cost of the Exposition was reported at \$30,558,849. The total receipts were \$32,796,103. The result of an excess of receipts over expenditures might well be noted as the crowning marvel of the enterprise. Our wonder in this particular is heightened when we reflect that the premonitory swirl of the great financial panic of 1893-94 fell fatally on the country during the months of the Exposition. Moreover, the subdued fear of a cholera epidemic was among the people—a circumstance not to be overlooked when we reflect upon the exposure to which the city of Chicago was necessarily subjected in the summer of 1893. Notwithstanding all this, the Columbian Exposition went forward to a triumphant conclusion. Neither the great financial panic, the fear of cholera, nor the ill-disguised and snarling jealousy of New York City, nor all combined, were able to prevent the glorious consummation of the work and the congratulation of all the civilized peoples of the globe on the splendid results of the enterprise.

Before the close of the Columbian Exposition, the so-called Cherokee Strip, a fertile and attractive part of the Indian Territory, was opened for settlement to the whites. In accordance with the law of Congress, six million acres of desirable lands were offered for sale. The result showed

that the passion for land-ownership and for settlement and colonization and the building up of States is not yet extinct in the American people. The date fixed for the sale of the lands was the 16th of September, 1893. There was a great rush for the new territory, and about one hundred thousand settlers suddenly threw themselves into it with a zeal of competition for homes that amounted almost to battle.

## CHAPTER L.

ON the 30th of October the so-called Sherman law was repealed by Congress. This might well appear to be the last of that series of acts which, extending over a period of twenty years, had finally resulted in the establishment of the single gold standard of values in the United States. It seemed that the international combination of the gold interests of two continents had finally triumphed, to the incalculable disadvantage of the producing classes in all civilized nations. Step by step, the conspiracy had gone on, until at last the bimetallic constitutional dollar of the law and the contract had been adroitly done away in the interest and under the dictation of the fund-holding classes of Europe and America, and to the woful hurt of the rest of mankind.

All this had been done under the name and in the guise of upholding the national credit. A change of all contracts—such as a king of the Middle Ages could not have made among his subjects without driving them to revolution—was effected by a series of intrigues the history of which as hereafter written will constitute the most terrible arraignment of American statesmanship to be found in all our national annals. The first, most obvious, and most disastrous result of the work was the precipitation and intensifying of the financial panic and universal prostration of business, the parallel of which had never before been witnessed in our country. The tariff legislation of this epoch, by un-

settling values, contributed not a little to the overwhelming disaster of the times. Whether the tariff reform advocated by Cleveland and the Democratic party was or was not a thing wise to be undertaken, certain it is that values were, for the time, ruinously affected by the acts of the current Congress.

This work, coming on top of the demonetization of silver, completed the sorrow of the American people. As for the tariff legislation, that took form in a bill prepared by Representative William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, which, though not a measure of free trade and not a measure founded on the principle of a tariff for revenue only, nevertheless included as much of these two principles as the expediency of the hour would bear. The Wilson Bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the Senate. In that body the monopolies had so great influence that a measure proposed by Senator Gorman, including a tariff on coal and iron and a differential duty on refined sugar, was substituted for the Wilson Bill, and forced upon the reluctant House. Such was the odium created by this measure, which was adopted on the 13th of August, that the elections following hard after went overwhelmingly against the Democrats.

While this legislative work was in progress, the industrial depression and discontent and suffering of the people led to the most alarming consequences. Strikes and lockouts became the order of the day. Business failures resounded through the land like the falling of a forest. Commerce virtually ceased. Presently, in the latter part of April, 1894, a hundred and thirty thousand miners stopped work and were joined immediately afterward by fully twenty-five thousand others. Nearly all the coke plants in western Pennsylvania were closed. Meanwhile, the discontented and half-starved people began to show their desires and

passions in a way never hitherto displayed in the United States.

Those who had been thrown out of employment began to combine, without knowing why, into what was known as the army of the Commonweal. One such army, under the leadership of J. S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, marched on Washington City, to demand employment from the national government. Another band came on from the far West, under the leadership of their so-called "General" Kelley. Railway cars were appropriated here and there for transportation. Collisions occurred between divisions of the army and various bodies of troops. On the 30th of May these men of the Commonweal made a demonstration on the steps of the Capitol at Washington. The authorities of the District, on the alert for some excuse, found the leaders of the army on the Capitol grounds in a place forbidden. Coxey and Carl Browne were arrested for trespassing, and were convicted and imprisoned. During the whole summer of 1894 these strange movements of the under men of the United States continued.

Meanwhile, riots broke out in the coke regions near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On the 4th of April, 1894, six persons were killed there. Serious disturbances among the miners occurred in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and Kansas. In many places the State militia was called out, and petty fights occurred. At Cripple Creek, in Colorado, a great riot took place, and prominent citizens were seized and held for some time as hostages.

Hard after this came a prodigious scandal in the politics of New York City. There a vile system had been established under the auspices of the Tammany Society. There came at length a revolt of public sentiment. Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, a noted preacher of the metropolis, led a public crusade against the iniquitous government of the city. It

transpired that the saloons and disorderly houses of New York had entered into corrupt combination with the police officials, paying them for the privilege of carrying on their vicious and unlawful pursuits without disturbance. Bribery and blackmail had spread through all the purlieus of the city. The Senate of New York appointed a committee to investigate the shocking condition of the metropolis, and placed at the head Senator Lexow, whose name passed into the history of the day. The revelations made by the committee were astounding. A municipal election came on, and the Tammany Society was routed. A People's ticket was successful against the most powerful political organization in America, backed as it was by an average majority of sixty thousand votes. For the time at least a better state of affairs was brought about in the leading American city.

The fall elections of 1894 went overwhelmingly against the Democratic party. It were hard to say whether the triumph of that party only two years previously or its disaster at the middle of the Cleveland administration was greater. As a matter of fact, the election of Cleveland in 1892 was not a great indorsement of the Democratic party. Neither was the overthrow of that party, two years afterwards, a popular indorsement of the Republican party. Both of these great elections were in the nature of rebukes administered by dissatisfied and ultimately independent people, first to one party, and then to another, in proportion as each was seen to be virtually in league with oppressive monopolies and other baleful influences and conditions in American politics, and against the common people.

The beginning of the second administration of Cleveland was troubled with a complication relative to Hawaii. During the recent Republican ascendancy in the government, an American party had appeared among the Hawaiians

favoring the abolition of the native monarchy, the substitution of a republic therefor and the ultimate annexation of the islands to the United States. This policy had the support of the administration of Harrison. A Hawaiian insurrection broke out, and Queen Liliuokalani was de-throned. A treaty of annexation was prepared, and the movement for joining the islands to the United States was under full way when Cleveland came again into the Presidency. His policy differed from that of his predecessor. He sent his agent Blount to Hawaii, to report on the political conditions there present. The request was made that the proposed treaty of annexation be returned to the State Department at Washington. On the 14th of April, 1893, came the report of Blount, which was so adverse to the policy hitherto pursued by our government that the President ordered a protectorate of the United States which had been established over Hawaii to be withdrawn. On the 27th of May, the American flag, which had been run up over the public buildings at Honolulu and had briefly floated there, was pulled down, and the affairs of the island were remanded to native authority. For a time it appeared that the queen would be restored; but the Republican party had now become so strong that the insular monarchy could not be set up again. A republic was presently established by the Hawaiians, led by the Americans resident in the islands, and Mr. Dole, an American, was elected president.

To this period belongs also the important arbitration between the United States and Great Britain relative to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. In that remote water a serious controversy had arisen between the vessels of the two nations, and acts of violence had taken place. The question was whether the jurisdiction of the United States, with the consequent exclusive right of American sealers to ply their

vocation, extended out from the seal islands seaward to the deep waters of Behring Sea. Our government was disposed to hold that the doctrine of *mare clausum* or the "shut-up sea" held in this case, while Great Britain—turning from her ancient policy of the shut sea to the doctrine of *mare librum* or "free sea"—now espoused the principle which the United States had previously maintained. The ravages of the ships of both nations in the deep waters had already greatly reduced the seal product in Behring Sea, and threatened the extinction of the valuable industry. On the 29th of February, 1892, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the two powers, agreeing to refer the controversy to an international board of arbitration. The court thus provided convened on the 23d of March, at Paris, and it was agreed that a temporary understanding, called *modus vivendi*, regulating the conduct of the two nations, should be extended to the 31st of October, 1893. The final result was a decision against the United States on the main question at issue; namely, that our government could not extend its authority to the open waters of the Behring Sea. An award of damages to the extent of \$425,000 was also made against the United States.

The latter part of the year 1894 was still further troubled with alarming difficulties between the employes and the proprietors of the great manufacturing establishments of the country. On the 17th of July ten thousand workmen in the great textile manufactories of New Bedford, Mass., struck against a reduction of wages, and soon afterward no fewer than twenty-three thousand operatives at Fall River were locked out by the managers. Then came the strike of the journeyman tailors of New York City, which was long continued, and disastrous alike to employers and employes. In the later part of January, 1895, a dreadful strike occurred of the employes of the electrical street car companies of

Brooklyn. In this movement about twenty five thousand men were involved. Notwithstanding the well-known fact that the principle for which the workmen contended was just, the public necessity of having the cars operated and the combined powers of organization and wealth calling upon the authorities, municipal and military, of the city to put down the strikers and rioters prevailed, and the strike was suppressed—not, however, until several serious conflicts involving the loss of life and great distress to the people had occurred.

## CHAPTER LI.

IN that epoch which we are now considering, one event of the most portentous character occurred. The coal strike practically ended on the 18th of June, 1894. The losses entailed upon the coal-mine owners and the operatives were estimated at twenty millions of dollars. On the 26th of June, just afterward, the American Railway Union, a powerful organization of operatives, declared a boycott against the Pullman Palace Car Company, having its offices and manufacturing establishments at the town of Pullman, near Chicago.

This boycott was proclaimed as an act of sympathy with the striking employes of the Pullman Company. The Company refused to submit to arbitration. Notwithstanding the enormous profits of the corporation regularly declared on a capital which had been watered until it was more than twelve times as great as at first, the wages of the employes had been time and again reduced, and other oppressive measures had been taken until the operatives were brought to the verge of desperation. When they struck against further oppression, the Railway Union declared the boycott against the cars, and immediately a tremendous array of power was exhibited on both sides of the controversy. A great blockade of railway freight and of passenger trains on the roads centering in Chicago was established. The mails in some cases were delayed. The strike spread as far as San Francisco, and in two days traffic was practically suspended. The organic forces of society now rallied.

On the 2d of July the United States courts in Chicago issued sweeping injunctions against the strikers. Regular troops under command of General Miles were sent to the scene to suppress rioting. On the 6th of July a great riot occurred; many were killed, and two hundred and twenty-five cars were burned.

Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, and his fellow-officers were arrested. President Cleveland issued a proclamation on the 8th of July, and ordered a division of the standing army to suppress the riots in California. Gradually the strikers in Chicago were put down, and by the 15th of the month the movement was suppressed. Soon afterward a commission, headed by the Honorable Carroll D. Wright, was appointed by the President of the United States to investigate the origin, character and results of the strike. By this commission the true nature of the event was discovered and established. The report showed that the whole blame for the disaster rested upon the Pullman Company, and that the strikers, except in a very few desultory instances, had not been guilty of either breaking the law or doing other violence to society. In course of a few months, Debs and his fellow-officers of the American Railway Union were brought to trial for an alleged contempt of court, in not answering a summons thereof; for this they were convicted and sent to prison.

During the administration of Harrison and the second administration of Cleveland, a number of prominent Americans passed away by death. On the 16th of November, 1893, ex-President James McCosh, of Princeton College, died, at the age of eighty-three. On the 13th of the following April, David Dudley Field, of New York, one of the most distinguished jurists of the United States, expired, at the advanced age of eighty-nine. On the following day, Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, passed away,

aged sixty-four; and at nearly the same hour, General Henry W. Slocum, who had reached his sixty-seventh year, died in Brooklyn. On the 7th of June, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, the greatest philologist of our country, passed away, at the age of sixty-seven.

On the 20th of February, 1895, the distinguished Frederick Douglass died at his home in Washington. He had long been recognized as the leading African of the world. Since the days of Toussaint l'Ouverture, no man of black visage in any part of the world had been the peer of Frederick Douglass. At the time of his death he had entered his seventy-ninth year. It would appear that although white blood mingled with the Nigritian in his veins he was nevertheless a true African. His attainments were remarkable. His patriotism was as conspicuous as his humanity. Born a slave, he had lived to become one of the greatest leaders of his epoch. Having on his shoulders the cruel marks of the driver's lash, he had in his brain, none the less, the visions of the dawn and in his soul all the music of the song-birds of freedom.

The work of transforming territories into States of the Union was continued during the second administration of Cleveland. In the early summer of 1894 an act was passed to enable Utah to become a State, and this act was signed by President Cleveland on the 17th of July. A constitution was prepared and voted on by the people. This being found to accord with the Constitution of the United States, and to comply with the provisions of the Edmunds Law, that State, after remaining for forty years in the territorial condition, was formally admitted into the Union on the 6th of January, 1895.

In the last quarter of the century, the progress of civilization into the great Northwest, and perhaps some changes of climate in that region, have brought the disastrous ac-

companying circumstance of the destruction of great forests by fire. On several occasions, in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, these fires have broken out, spreading from neighborhood to neighborhood, and from county to county, devastating the country for many square miles and leaving nothing behind but earth and ashes. On the 10th of September, 1894, one of these fires broke out in northern Michigan and raged for about a week. For two or three days the conflagration was appalling. The forests were swept down like fields of stubble. Similar fires occurred in Wisconsin and parts of Minnesota. In the last named State the towns of Hinckley and Mission Creek were utterly destroyed. So sudden and dreadful was the visitation that in these two towns alone 350 persons perished in the flames. In the various neighborhoods that were ruined by these conflagrations it was estimated that from 1,200 to 1,500 lives were lost. The destruction of property was quite incalculable.

On the 3d of December in this year, the last session of the Fifty-third Congress began. In his message President Cleveland recommended the increase of the American army to its full legal strength of 25,000 men. He also indorsed the project for building additional battle-ships and torpedo-boats, thus following the line of policy laid down nearly twenty years previously by Samuel J. Tilden. It was one of the peculiarities of public opinion, at this time, that it seemed to fall back upon the notion of making strong the republic by increasing its military power—this in the face of the well-known fact that such preparations are a sign of decadence rather than of strength.

The President also urged such modifications in the tariff schedule as would transfer coal and iron to the free list, and would remove the so-called differential duties from refined sugar. He also recommended the increase of the gold reserve

in the treasury by the issuance of gold-bearing bonds. The enormous expenditures which had been made by the Fifty-second Congress and also by the Fifty-third had threatened with depletion the gold reserve, which was kept without warrant of law in the treasury of the United States. In accordance with this policy, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 20th of February, 1895, issued \$62,500,000 in thirty-year bonds at 4 per cent. These were taken by a syndicate of New York bankers, who secured the bonds at the rate of about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. above par, and succeeded in selling them at about  $12\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. above par. The loss to the government from this nefarious transaction was very great; but it was only the beginning of the process by which the bonded debt of the United States was, in the period which we are here considering, increased by \$262,000,000—this in a time of profound peace, and at a period when the people of the nation were profoundly concerned to have the national debt extinguished rather than augmented and perpetuated.

On the 4th of March the Fifty-third Congress came to an end. The appropriations for the second session amounted to more than half a billion of dollars. The principal things which had been accomplished by the body were, first, the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman silver law; secondly, the amendment of the McKinley tariff bill by the substitution therefor of the Wilson-Gorman bill, which included a tax of 2 per cent. on the excess of incomes above \$4,000 annually; thirdly, the restoration of the duties on sugar with a bounty of \$5,000,000 to the sugar-growers. Negatively, this Congress refused to pay the sum awarded by the arbitration at Paris in favor of the British North American sealers—though the Secretary of State had agreed to the award, and though the agreement had received the indorsement of the administration.

It was in the spring of this year that those difficulties,

long pending in the island of Cuba with the provincial government of Spain, came to a crisis. On the 8th of March the American merchant steamer *Allianca* was fired on off the east coast of Cuba by the Spanish cruiser *Conde de Venadido*. An insurrection gathered head in the island, and the patriots, who were the insurgents, found a great leader in General Antonio Maceo. Spain, for her part, sent additional troops to Cuba, and the local government was assigned to the provincial governor-general Weyler, between whose administration and the Cubans the utmost animosity began to prevail.

The insurrection assumed revolutionary proportions, and for the ensuing two years a cruel provincial war was waged between the Cubans and their Spanish oppressors. Late in 1896 General Maceo was killed in an ambush, and the Cuban cause seemed about to perish with him ; but the sympathy of the United States, the secret aid given to the Cubans, and their own spirit in contending with their oppressors, led to a continuance of the struggle. On the 12th of June, 1895, President Cleveland issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the United States to aid the Cuban insurgents, but the proclamation was little regarded.

Meanwhile the political affairs of Central America tended to a complete transformation of the isolated States of that region into the Central Republic. A difficulty arose between the Nicaraguans and Great Britain. The pro-consul of the latter power, representing the British government at Bluefields, was illegally expelled from his place, and for this Great Britain demanded reparation, including an indemnity of \$77,500. This demand being refused by the Nicaraguans, a body of English marines seized the custom-house at Corinto and held it with a threat of further retaliation. At this juncture the government of San Salvador offered to mediate, and this offer, being reinforced with a

guarantee of the payment of the indemnity, Great Britain relinquished the custom-house, and things went well again.

It has been mentioned above that, as a part of the work of the Fifty-third Congress, a tax of two per cent. was laid on incomes amounting to more than \$4,000 annually ; that is, the *excess* of incomes over \$4,000 was to be taxed at the rate of two per cent. This law, if it had become effective, would have greatly increased the revenues of the government by compelling the rich to pay a reasonable proportion of the taxes of the people. But wealth does not readily assent to be taxed. A strong combination was made against the law, and a suit to test its validity was instituted and carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Before the judges of that tribunal the cause was argued with the greatest ability and persistency. At length a decision was rendered, upholding *a part* of the law and condemning the remainder ; some clauses thereof were said to be constitutional and the others unconstitutional ; but before this decision was fairly and fully promulgated, the court reversed its own decision and declared the whole income-tax law to be unconstitutional. This was accomplished by the vote of a single justice, who changed from the affirmative to the negative side of the question, thus making a vote of five to four against the law—being a majority of one. The result was disappointing to the great mass of the people of the United States ; and the disappointment found expression, as we shall see, in the platforms of one of the leading parties in 1896.

Several matters may be mentioned incidentally at this period that may be properly regarded as historical. One of these was the combination of the Astor, Lenox and Tilden Libraries in New York City. For a long time the first two of these had existed as separate institutions. Samuel J. Tilden, near the end of his life, provided in his will for the

institution of a new library in the city to bear his name; but the will of the great lawyer was assailed by some of the collateral heirs and was set aside as invalid. The heirs, however, agreed that a considerable portion of the money bequeathed for that purpose should be given to the project which Mr. Tilden desired to promote.

This circumstance led to the combination of the three libraries under one management. A great library building had been erected on Fifth Avenue, looking into Central Park. This building was first intended for the Lenox Library; but the new scheme contemplated the establishment therein of the Tilden Library as well, and of the removal thereto of the Astor Library from its old station in Lafayette Place. Thus the city of New York secured a public library of fully 300,000 volumes, with property estimated at about eight million dollars. The final arrangement for this was effected on the 2d of March, 1895.

Another incident was the opening of the Harlem Ship Canal, by which the Hudson River and the East River and Long Island Sound were connected with a channel sufficiently wide and deep for the passing of ships. The visitor to the scene of this great internal improvement can but be struck with the immense possibilities that are provided by nature and man for the future of Manhattan Island. So far as human foresight can discern, this island, bearing the city of New York, must be destined to hold a conspicuous place in the civilization of many centuries to come. Provision has now been made for the passage of ships of large burden entirely around Manhattan by way of the Hudson (or North) River, through the canal and the Harlem River into East River, and thence into the harbor again. Fancy and patriotism can easily foresee a time when all this vast extent of much more than forty miles of shore will be occupied throughout with sun-walled and stone-paved docks

and slips immutable as the ages; more elegant and commodious even than those of the Mersey, into which the ships of all nations shall go and there be anchored, in safety, to the shores of what was once a forbidding and desolate island which was sold by the Indians to the whites for \$20! Such is the work of man on his way from barbarism to civilization and power.

The by-elections, which were held during the year 1895, resulted generally in favor of the Republican party. The country had now been suffering for more than two years from the effects of a disastrous financial panic, from the lack of money for the prosecution of enterprises, from low prices, and, indeed, from almost every economic hardship. These things were charged up to the administration of Cleveland, which became more and more unpopular as time went by. The results of the November elections this year greatly encouraged the Republicans. They were able to claim victories in New York, New Jersey, Iowa, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even in Maryland and Kentucky. It was at this juncture that the first general election was held in the State of Utah; and this also resulted in a Republican victory—though Republicanism in that region meant the free coinage of silver together with the reinstitution of protective duties—this against the sentiment of the Republicans in the commercial centers of the East.

## CHAPTER LII.

WHEN the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress convened on the 2d of December, 1895, the President in his message recommended several financial measures which on the whole were calculated to continue and intensify, rather than break, the strain and hardship of the country. He would have the treasury notes issued by the government, years ago, and long used as currency, to be retired by means of an issue of bonds bearing interest at a low rate. He would also have the tax on the national banks reduced to a nominal rate—this in the hope of stimulating those institutions to a greater liberality toward their customers and the people at large.

On the 17th of the month the President sent a special message to Congress, calling attention to the fact that the British government had refused to submit to arbitration her dispute with Venezuela relative to the so-called Schomburgk line, which was claimed by Great Britain as the boundary of her possessions in that country. This claim, if admitted, would include many of the Venezuelan gold fields with the British possessions. It was the policy of Great Britain at this time—or at least of her subjects—to get possession of nearly all the gold mines of the world, with a view to putting herself in a position where she might sell her gold to all those nations using that metal as a basis of their currency. In following this policy of fastening the gold corner with immovable anchors, she thought to secure from Venezuela the largest possible extent of territory.

The United States interfered and proposed arbitration. This was refused and the President referred the matter to Congress. There seemed to impend an international crisis ; but the government of Great Britain, on the urgent representations of the United States, finally conceded to the propriety and right of arbitration as the means of settling the dispute. A commission was accordingly constituted and the President appointed Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court ; Robert H. Alvey, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia ; Andrew D. White, ex-President of Cornell University ; Hon. Frederick R. Coudert, and President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, to act as a commission on the part of the United States in settling the Venezuelan boundary ; that is, in determining from the historical antecedents what the boundary justly is. In order to promote this work, the two Houses of Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of the commission while prosecuting the investigation.

The first public event of the year 1896 was the additional sale of one hundred millions of thirty-year government bonds, which was said to be necessary in order to protect the gold reserve in the treasury. The principal motive for the transaction was the fact of the accumulated idle, uninvested funds in the banks at New York. Enterprises had failed in all parts of the country, and money no longer offered itself to legitimate manufacturing or commercial investments. The industries of the country were at a standstill, and the necessity existed—according to the policy of the great bankers of the metropolis—to get their accumulated funds into *some* form of investment. The national bond was the form selected, and the treasury of the United States, acting in conjunction with the powerful money interest of the metropolis, and under the ostensible motive

of replenishing the gold reserve, which had been purposely reduced by the exportation of gold coin, ordered the sale of another one hundred millions of four per cent. bonds. This sum was a part of the total two hundred and sixty-two millions referred to in the preceding paragraph.

On the 25th of February, 1896, an incident occurred in the harbor of New York, which was of an exciting and dangerous character. Officers of our government boarded a British steamship called the *Bermuda*, which was manifestly fitting out for a filibustering expedition to Cuba. In doing so, the vessel was using an American harbor for an unlawful purpose. She was accordingly boarded and seized, together with a large amount of munitions of war already collected in her hold. The work had been accomplished under the direction of General Calixto Garcia, who was the promoter of the proposed expedition. He was arrested by the officers of the United States, but was subsequently released. On the 15th of March, he succeeded in sailing from the harbor of New York with the *Bermuda*, which had again been well supplied with munitions of war, and in reaching the Cuban insurgents without serious difficulty—a thing that could hardly have been accomplished but for the secret friendship of the United States for the patriots of Cuba.

Three days after the incident here referred to, the Senate of the United States passed resolutions, offering the recognition by our government of the Cuban insurgents to the extent of their rights as belligerents. Similar resolutions were carried in the House. The effect of this action was to arouse profound indignation in Spain. In that country, hostile demonstrations were made against the United States, and it was with difficulty that the Spanish government could protect the American consulates from the violence of the angry mobs. So great was the excitement in

Spain that the universities had to be closed in order to prevent violence of rioting students.

While the people of the United States continued to suffer the most severe financial disasters and industrial hardships, and while a large part of the people attributed this condition to the attempt which had been made in the treasury management of the United States to induce and confirm the England system of money, the American minister at the court of St. James, Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, following the policy of the administration which he represented, sought to promote good fellowship with the British nation—this to the extent of arousing strong opposition at home. The House of Representatives passed resolutions of censure, on the 20th of March, 1896, against Ambassador Bayard, condemning him for utterances which he had given in speeches made at Edinburgh, Scotland, and at Boston, England; but the resolutions were of small effect in checking the tendency of the times.

In April of this year occurred an international episode of considerable interest. Some idealist had proposed that the ancient Olympian games be revived, and that representatives of the European and American nations should repair to Athens to participate in the celebration of the 766th Olympiad. The project excited the imaginations of many people, and athletes from several countries in Europe and America repaired to the scene of the contest. The games were celebrated in the ancient classical manner. One of the principal features was racing. It remained for the year 1896 of our era to witness the repetition of the old foot-race made from the field of Marathon to the Acropolis in Athens; the race was won by an American! Indeed, our Americans showed themselves to great advantage in these games. Eleven of the so-called "points" of excellence were awarded to American athletes. The Greeks won ten



THE smashing of Cervera's Spanish fleet by the American squadron under the temporary command of Commodore Schley, off Santiago, Cuba July 3 1898.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

points; the Germans, seven; the French, five; the English, three; the Hungarians, two; the Australians, two; the Danes, one; and the Swiss, one.

One favorable fact must be recorded with respect to the second administration of Cleveland, and that was the placing of fully 30,000 employes of the national government under the Civil Service rules. This was the largest practical movement ever made in the direction of a general reform of the Civil Service in the United States. The sincerity of Mr. Cleveland in promoting this great work, which had been begun nominally as far back as the administration of Grant, cannot be doubted, and this fact will probably remain as the principal thing to be commended in his administrative policy.

On the 11th of May, 1896, Governor Levi P. Morton, of New York, signed the bill for the institution of what, in the phraseology of our times, is called "the Greater New York." The policy of enlarging cities so as to include much and exclude little had been already begun in Chicago. About fifteen years previously that city had widened her borders until she had become of greater territorial extent than any other city in the world. Her Halstead Street, straight as an arrow, had been extended within the corporate limits to the unparalleled length of twenty-eight miles! The project of a like enlargement was agitated in New York, and the sentiment in favor thereof grew till at length it prevailed, and "Greater New York" became a fact. By this means Long Island City, as well as Brooklyn, and all of Richmond County, with many surrounding cities and suburbs, were included under a single municipal government, thus advancing New York to the third rank among the cities of the world. Only London and Paris remained at the close of the century superior in population and resources to the American metropolis.

Meanwhile the political condition of the United States had become distracted to a greater degree than had been known since 1856. The Republican National Convention was called to meet at St. Louis on the 18th of June. It was with the greatest difficulty that the body could be held together in tolerable solidarity until a nomination of candidates could be made. A considerable faction, under the leadership of Senator Stewart, of Nevada, withdrew from the convention hall; but the principal body remained intact, and William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President of the United States. For Vice-President, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated. The platform declared for the maintenance of the gold standard of values; for the re-establishment of a protective tariff; for the control of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States; for the ownership of the Nicaraguan Canal by our government; for an increase of the army and the navy; for the purchase of the Danish Islands in the West Indies to be used as a coaling station; for the protection of American citizens in Armenia and Turkey; for the development of reciprocity in trade with the Central and South American Republics; for the admission to Statehood of the Territories; for the creation of a national Board of Arbitration to adjust the disputes between capital and labor.

On the 7th of July the Democratic National Convention was called at Chicago. This body, also, was threatened with disruption. The one vital issue before the people was the question of the restoration of the silver coinage to the position which it held before the act of 1873. The sentiment in favor of the free coinage of silver was overwhelmingly predominant in the Democratic Convention; but the opposite opinion was stubbornly upheld by the minority under the leadership of Senator David B. Hill, of New York.

As champion of the Free Silver cause at length appeared

in the convention William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who, in a brilliant speech, carried the convention with overwhelming enthusiasm to the standard of free silver. He was then himself nominated for the Presidency. For the Vice-Presidency the nomination was given to Arthur Sewall, of Maine. The platform declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for a tax on incomes; for a repeal of the protective tariff laws; for the prohibition of immigration in competition with American labor; for an increase in the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, etc. The convention also uttered a severe criticism on the Supreme Court, relative to the abrogation of the income-tax and on the national banking system of the United States. Rotation in office was favored, as was also the early admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union.

The National Convention of the Populist party was held in St. Louis on the 22d of June. By this body the Democratic nomination of William Jennings Bryan, for the Presidency, was indorsed; and for Vice-President Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated. The platform declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for the ownership by government of the railway and telegraph lines of the United States; for free homes to settlers; for a tax on incomes; for postal savings banks; for an increase in the volume of currency. The convention denounced the issuance of national bonds; declared in favor of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum; and insisted on the immediate foreclosure of the liens held by the government of the United States on the Pacific railways. All three of the leading conventions declared the sympathy of the American people for the patriots of Cuba.

On the 2d of September, 1896, a faction of the Demo-

cratic party, calling itself "The *National* Democratic party," convened in Indianapolis, and went through the form of nominating for the Presidency Ex-Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The principal item in the platform was the declaration for the establishment and perpetuation of the gold standard of values. It also declared for a tariff for revenue only. The emissaries in this convention issued mostly from the seats of the money power, and came together for the purpose of promoting the interests of that power by the prevention, if possible, of the election of the Democratic candidates.

#### BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS—GOLD vs. SILVER.

By J. W. BUEL.

The delegates in this convention were chiefly men interested in large manufacturing industries, or the banking business, whose concern for the maintenance of a stable currency was paramount to party adherency. The issue was possibly a factitious one, to a small extent, but the large majority of Democrats who supported the opposition were undoubtedly honest in the belief that to commit the national government, by legislative enactment, to bimetallism would be followed by loss of foreign trade and a violent disturbance of our currency. To prevent the possibility of such a result, the fear of which invoked the spirit of pessimism even if the substance were not really in evidence, the so-called gold-Democrats vigorously attacked the Chicago Platform, and though their number was small they contributed no little to the defeat of the regular Democratic nominee.

The principal questions that divided the Republican and Democratic parties in the campaign of 1896 were issues frequently fought over and, from the nature of things, most

difficult to settle. The two questions fairly explained, and as both sides would present their respective contentions, are thus set forth :

“ Next to the tariff, the silver question has for many years been the most important issue that has appeared from time to time before the National Congress, and is one which has little promise of a final settlement. Like the tariff, it is largely a sectional issue, for which reason party lines have never been clearly drawn in the controversy. Silver is generally regarded as being the money of the agriculturist, while gold is the standard of the manufacturers, in which respects the question, to a large extent, divides the East from the West.

“ The first coinage act, passed as early as 1792, authorized the unrestricted mintage of gold and silver at a ratio of 1 to 15. By which is meant that fifteen ounces of coin silver was made the equivalent of one ounce of gold. A slight change occurred in these relative values, by reason of an increased value set upon gold by foreign countries trading with America, and therefore, to re-establish an equilibrium, in 1834 Congress changed the ratio of the two metals to 15.988, or practically 16 to 1. Gold and silver have varied considerably in commercial value since that time, but the ratio has not since been changed. The parity, however, has not been maintained without embarrassments to the treasury, and the efforts to this end have been attended with no end of political rancor, since it has been considered necessary by the administration to issue bonds in order thereby to secure and keep in reserve an amount of gold sufficiently great to continue the redemption of greenbacks as they are presented. The question was very much aggravated by the action of all European countries in demonetizing silver, which as a natural consequence seriously affected the demand and price of that metal. And a controversy ensued in this country

## HISTORY OF

which ultimated in the passage by Congress, in 1873, of an act demonetizing silver. The act did not arouse violent opposition at the beginning because there was little or no silver in circulation, but after specie payment was resumed the agitation began anew, which was thereafter greatly increased on account of the opening of new silver mines and the vastly increased output of that metal. Silver began to rapidly decline in value under these two adverse influences, until at this time (1896) the relative, or commercial ratio, between gold and silver is approximately 30 to 1. The following table shows the commercial relation of the two metals since the demonetization act of 1873 and the Sherman act of 1893, which will be presently explained:

## SILVER AND GOLD.

YEARS.	Average quotations.	Gain or loss per cent.	Bullion values of U. S. silver dollars.	Gold ratio.
1873 .....	\$1.30	.45 gain.	\$1.004	15.9
1874 .....	1.28	1.00 loss.	.989	15.2
1875 .....	1.25	3.00 "	.96	16.6
1876 .....	1.16	10.00 "	.90	17.9
1877 .....	1.20	7.00 "	.929	17.2
1878 .....	1.15	10.00 "	.89	17.9
1879 .....	1.12	13.00 "	.869	18.4
1880 .....	1.14	11.00 "	.886	18.0
1881 .....	1.14	12.00 "	.88	18.1
1882 .....	1.13	12.00 "	.878	18.2
1883 .....	1.11	14.00 "	.868	18.6
1884 .....	1.11	14.00 "	.86	18.6
1885 .....	1.06	18.00 "	.82	19.4
1886 .....	.99	23.00 "	.769	20.8
1887 .....	.98	24.00 "	.757	21.1
1888 .....	.94	27.00 "	.727	22.0
1889 .....	.93	28.00 "	.72	22.0
1890 .....	1.05	19.00 "	.809	19.7
1891 .....	.99	23.00 "	.76	20.9
1892 .....	.87	33.00 "	.67	23.7
1893 .....	.81	37.00 "	.625	25.5
1895* .....	.63	50.05 "	.495	30.5

\* The change of relative bullion values of the two metals has been slight since 1895.

## THE BLAND-ALLISON BILL.

No movement was made looking to a remonetization of silver until 1878, when Mr. Bland, of Missouri, introduced a bill in Congress providing for free coinage of silver dollars. This bill passed the house by a good majority, and being taken up by Mr. Allison, of Iowa, in the Senate, passed that body. President Hayes disapproved the bill, but the measure was so popular that it quickly passed over his veto. This act required the government to purchase and coin monthly not less than \$2,000,000, nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, but opponents of the law succeeded in confining the purchase to the minimum amount, under which the coinage and silver certificates aggregated \$378,-166,795. Notwithstanding the large purchases made by this government the price of silver bullion declined from \$1.20 $\frac{1}{2}$  per ounce in February, 1878, to \$0.92 per ounce in May, 1879. This depreciation was due to the adoption of a gold standard by England in 1870, Germany in 1871, Holland in 1873, the Latin Union in 1876, and Spain in 1878, a course which was followed by India in 1893, thus leaving China, Japan, Mexico, and the South American republics the only bimetallic countries outside of the United States, and in all these silver was and continues to be the only metal in actual circulation.

## THE SHERMAN BILL.

In 1890 the situation had become so acute that the controversy was renewed by the passage in the Senate of a bill providing for the unlimited free coinage of silver into standard dollars at a ratio of 16 to 1. There was an excellent prospect of this measure succeeding in the House, to prevent which another bill was framed, by Senator Sherman,

of Ohio, and introduced in the House, where it passed by a strict party vote, all Republicans voting aye and the Democrats nay. In the Senate the bill succeeded by a vote of 39 to 26, and the Sherman bill became a law. By this act the government was required to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, but the amount of coinage was fixed at 2,000,000 ounces each month until July 1, 1891, with the special provision that "it is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

Under this act the accumulation of bullion by the government was so great that new fears were excited which led President Cleveland to convoke the Fifty-third Congress in extraordinary session on August 7, 1893, accompanying the call with a message directing attention to the evils which threatened further continuance of bullion purchases. A bitter debate ensued in Congress over the efforts to repeal, which was not terminated until August 28, when a bill introduced by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, repealing the purchase clause of the Sherman act, passed the House by a majority of 130.

While the Sherman law was thus annulled, the Wilson bill left the legal tender quality of silver dollars, then in existence, unimpaired, and the credit of the government remained pledged to a maintenance of the parity of the two metals. Notwithstanding its passage by a very large majority the law was not universally acquiesced in, and the division of sentiment grew so rancorous as to cause a secession from the ranks of the Republican party of several senators from Western States whose fealty to the silver cause they regard as paramount to all other questions of the hour.

The Republican party, barring its few dissenters, maintains an unalterable opposition to the free coinage of silver

at the ratio of 16 to 1, except it be done under international agreement, contending that as all the chief commercial nations with whom our trade is extensive are upon a gold basis, our government cannot maintain a parity of the two metals, and that effort to do so must result in exhaustion of our gold, thus forcing the United States to a depreciated silver basis, like Mexico.

"The demands of the silver advocates are thus set forth by the National Bimetallic League :

"1. All legislation demonetizing silver and restricting the coinage thereof must be immediately and completely repealed by an act restoring the coinage of the country to the conditions established by the founders of the nation. We protest against the financial policy of the United States being made dependent upon the opinion or policies of any foreign government.

"2. We assert that the only remedy for our metallic financial troubles is to open the mints of the nation to gold and silver on equal terms at the old ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold. Whenever the silver bullion can be exchanged at the mints for legal tender silver dollars worth 100 cents, that moment  $412\frac{1}{2}$  grains of standard silver will be worth 100 cents; and as commerce equalizes the prices of all commodities throughout the world, whenever  $412\frac{1}{2}$  grains of standard silver is worth 100 cents in the United States, they will be worth that sum everywhere else, and cannot be bought for less. While such a result would enhance the price of bullion, a similar rise would be immediately made in every kind of property, except gold and credits."

In order to insure the parity of gold and silver the policy of the government has been to maintain a gold reserve of \$100,000,000, but agitation of the silver question has caused a rapid drain to be made on this reserve, which beginning in the last year of President Harrison's adminis-

tration, has continued without any cessation until its renewal has been necessary by sales of bonds as follows: An issue of 5 per cent. bonds, amounting to \$50,000,000, was advertised for sale February 1, 1894, for which there were 288 bids representing \$52,292,150. Of this amount \$42,995,850 was bid for at the upset price of \$1.17.223, and \$9,295,300 at a price in excess of that figure. The government realized a premium on this sale of \$8,613,295.

A second 5 per cent. loan was advertised November 13 of the same year, for which there was no upset price. The number of bids for this second issue of \$50,000,000 was 394, which represented \$178,341,150 in amount. The amount of bids received at \$1.16.8898 was \$50,000,000, and below that price, \$61,776,100. The Morgan-Belmont syndicate bid \$1.17.077 for \$50,000,000, to whom the entire issue was awarded, by which the government realized a premium of \$8,538,500.

On February 8, 1895, it again became necessary to replenish the reserve. This time the government advertised to purchase 3,500,000 ounces of gold, the same to be paid for in 4 per cent. bonds. The Morgan syndicate was again the successful bidder, under the terms of which agreement the government issued bonds amounting to \$62,315,400, for which the syndicate paid at the rate of \$1.04.4946, by which the government realized a premium of \$2,800,644.

For a fourth time, in the short period of two years, the gold reserve was reduced to less than one-half the \$100,000,000 required, and the commercial situation became such that a further issue of bonds was made. Accordingly, the administration advertised the sale of \$100,000,000, 4 per cent. bonds, to run thirty years from February 1, 1896. Bids for these bonds were opened the 4th February, which, upon being tabulated, were found to number 4,640, and that they represented the extraordinary amount of \$558,269,850.

The upset price for these was fixed by a bid of the Morgan syndicate at \$1.10.6877, which secured almost half the issue, the rest being distributed, at various prices above the upset rate, to persons in both Europe and America, some of whom paid as high as \$1.19, or 19 per cent. premium. It was the most successful loan ever negotiated by the government, and its good effects upon the commercial interests was immediate and great.

The highest price paid for gold in this country was in December, 1864, when it reached 285. Specie payment was resumed January 1, 1879, but gold did not sell at par until the December following, at which time our national debt was two billion two hundred million dollars.

#### THE TARIFF QUESTION.

One of the really great and ever perplexing questions that has been a political issue almost since the organization of our government, is that of the Tariff, and, though it has often been settled, so to speak, by legislative enactment, the people have never been fully satisfied, and so the cry of protection and free trade continues to be a slogan for opposing parties; nor is a final determination of the contest likely, in a country composed of States whose commercial interests are at variance as are those of America.

It is a somewhat curious fact that a preponderance of the manufacturing industries are located in the New England States, near the home market, instead of being within the section of production. Thus we observe, that while cotton and sugar-cane are products of the South, nearly all the cotton-mills and sugar-refineries are in the Northeast. Iron ore is found most plentifully in the Lake regions, and in the Southwest, but the great foundries and rolling mills are in the East. So, we have come to regard the East as

the manufacturing section, and the South and West as the agricultural districts of our country. It is true, since the war there has been a remarkable development of manufactures in the South, which has served to modify, though to a limited extent, the feeling previously entertained by residents of that section towards the people of New England and their protected industries. But, on the other hand, the West has probably grown more antagonistic towards the East, a hostile feeling which is due in large measure to the low price cereals have commanded during the past several years, which has made farming unprofitable and thus increased the mortgage holdings of eastern capitalists on western farms.

The South was dependent entirely upon the products of her fields until after the abolition of slavery, and the development of manufactures which followed. The people of that section raised cotton, tobacco, cane and other raw materials, on which no protection was desired, and easily finding a ready market for their products abroad, they wanted the privilege of buying their goods as cheaply as possible in Europe. Therefore, when a tariff was laid upon all imports in 1828 the people of South Carolina made a vigorous protest by petition to the Legislature, which being unavailing, in 1832 that State undertook to nullify the tariff law, and this act came near resulting in a rebellion, a calamity averted only by President Jackson's message, declaring that the laws of the United States are supreme and must be obeyed.

New England needed a protective tariff to enable her to compete with European manufactures, and receiving this assistance she multiplied her factories, not only because there were larger profits in these industries, but also because her soil was not adapted to agricultural purposes. And these diverse interests of sections kept alive the agita-

tion until a compromise bill was introduced by Henry Clay, which provided for a gradual reduction of duties. It was presently found that Clay's bill failed to satisfy either party, so in 1846 another measure was enacted by which the protection feature was entirely eliminated and duties were levied upon a basis for revenue only. This legislation was very bitterly opposed by the Northeast, but the South had a majority in the National Congress, and every effort to repeal the act of 1846 met with failure. Finally, in 1857, another tariff act was passed, which, though it fixed a scale lower than any other act since 1812, still embraced many just features that seemed to harmonize the interests of all sections. Under this law importations were immensely stimulated, which for a short while gave great prosperity to the country, but was followed by a disastrous panic, and the public mind accepted the result as due to free-trade legislation.

The breaking out of the Civil War made a large increase in duties absolutely necessary to provide revenue to meet the enormous expenses which a prosecution of the conflict incurred. The South, by seceding, was now out of the controversy and New England was allowed to frame the war tariff, which was done by the passage of a bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Morrell, of Maine. This tariff, which gave high protection to leading manufacturing industries of the North, continued in effect until 1880, by which time a very large surplus had accumulated in the United States Treasury, which nothing but the most extravagant appropriations, inconsistent with the country's needs, could exhaust. This plethora of the Treasury—the very reverse of previous causes—opened up anew the old controversy, and the cry of tariff reform was taken up by the Democratic party. The South had, by this time, shaken off the lethargy which had characterized her while supported

by slave labor, and was increasing her wealth immensely by economic and wise utilization of her great national resources now taking the form of manufacturing. This change served to make her less hostile to the system of protection, but she refused to violate party traditions, in the belief that the benefits of the war tariff were disproportionately in favor of northern manufacturers, and so remained steadfast in the principles avowed by the Democratic party.

In 1880 Garfield was elected by the Republicans on a platform declaring in favor of protection to American industries, thus defeating Hancock, the nominee of the Democratic party, on a platform pronouncing in favor of a tariff for revenue and incidental protection. Although Garfield was elected as a protectionist, yet in 1882 the Republican Congress (Arthur being then president) appointed a commission to examine and report upon the expediency of reducing the tariff duties to a basis of moderate protection, which resulted in the passage of a bill in accordance with the recommendations of the commission. This bill failed to satisfy the Democracy, who demanded further measures of reform, and in 1884 Mr. Cleveland was elected on the issue thus raised. His message in 1887 was a radical one, wherein he pronounced the existing tariff laws as being "vicious, inequitable and illogical," and in accordance with the President's suggestions the Democratic House of Representatives passed the "Mill's Bill," removing the duty on wool, and reducing the revenue \$50,000,000.

In the presidential election of 1888 the Democrats had a majority of the popular vote, but they failed to secure a majority of the Electoral College and General Harrison was chosen President. The principal act of his administration was the passage of the "McKinley Bill," which, while removing the duty from raw sugar and a few other articles, added largely to the duties on woolen goods, cotton,

silk, tin plate, etc. The Republican party was defeated in the congressional election of 1890, and the presidential election of 1892, which victories led the Democratic party to believe that a very large majority of the people were radically opposed to the McKinley law, and upon regaining power the Democratic House and Senate set resolutely to work to undo the McKinley law and to frame a new bill in which the element of protection would be wanting. This desire was not completely gratified, for when the bill reached the Senate it provoked a bitter controversy which, after a protracted struggle, resulted in so many changes that when it finally passed that body and was sent back to the lower house the bill had few appearances of the original. Notwithstanding the radical changes to which the measure had been subjected in the Senate the House voted to accept all the amendments rather than hazard a final defeat in the Senate, and the bill became a law, but without the President's signature. It was at best a bad compromise measure and in no sense a satisfactory settlement of the issue.

When the Republican party came into power in 1897 immediate steps were taken, in a special session of Congress, called by President McKinley for the purpose, to readjust the revenues and adopt a new traffic law. Mr. Dingley, of Maine, presented a bill which, after a lengthy debate and many amendments, was finally adopted, the principal of which was protection, whereas in the Wilson bill protection was made a mere incident, revenue for support of the government being the prime object. The Dingley tariff considerably increased the scale-level of duties, to provide for the growing deficiencies of the revenue that had drained the treasury during the operation of the Wilson tariff. The prophecy of the supporters of the Dingley measure, that it would yield a surplus of revenue, was not soon realized, nor did the income of the government reach a point

where it was sufficient to meet current expenses until near the close of 1899, several months after the imposition of revenue taxes by Congress under Act approved June 13, 1898. Thus the situation respecting the policy of the government levying a protective tax remains a question as much at issue between the Republican and Democratic parties now as it ever was before, while the contention that high tariffs foster trusts has served to intensify the dispute, making a possible settlement more remote.

The result of the election of 1896 was in favor of the Republicans. McKinley and Hobart were chosen by a popular majority of 601,854. The vote of the Republican candidate showed a majority *over all* of 286,452. The electoral vote was, for William McKinley, 271; for William Jennings Bryan, 176. This result had been proclaimed in advance as the fact from which a revival of prosperity was to come to the American people. During the months of November and December a symptom of such revival was seen; but it proved to be only superficial and factitious. The end of the year saw business prostrated as before, and the elections occurring in April of 1897 indicated the disappointment of the people even in the great cities, and their discontent with the policy of the victorious party.

In the meantime, that is, in the summer of 1896, a wave of interest passed over the nation, originating in the far North. Another Polar expedition was added to the long list of those that had preceded it. The Norwegian explorer, Fridtjof Nansen, conducting an Arctic expedition, arrived at Värdo, Norway, on the 13th of August, with the announcement that he had succeeded in reaching a higher latitude than ever before attained by man. His farthest point toward the Polar spot was registered as  $86^{\circ} 14' N.$  Nansen had prosecuted his voyage in the belief that a constant current flows from the Siberian Sea into that of Green-

land. He had noted the driftwood on the coast of Greenland, and had found traces in the ice masses and mud and dust of that region, leading him to believe that these vestigia are of Siberian origin. Acting on this belief, he constructed a vessel able to withstand the impact of ice, and undertook to float with the ice pack, from the New Siberian Islands to Spitzbergen. The explorer was endowed to the extent of \$100,000 by the Norwegian Storthing and by private contributions. His ship was called the *Fram*.

Nansen departed on his voyage on the 24th of June, 1893. The explorer ascertained, for the first time, the correct outline of the Siberian coast. It was in  $78^{\circ} 50'$  N. that the *Fram* was anchored to an iceberg. This was in  $133^{\circ} 34'$  east longitude. For six weeks the *Fram* drifted to the south. Then the northward tide set in and continued through the winter and spring of 1893-94. The cold was appalling. For weeks together the mercury was frozen. The desolation of the ice-fields was terrible to witness. But the *Fram* withstood all assaults. At length the deep polar sea was found. At  $70^{\circ}$  N. the line showed ninety fathoms. From this point, voyaging northward, the measurement ranged first to 1,600 and then to 1,900 fathoms. In June of 1894 the vessel reached  $81^{\circ} 52'$  N., and about New Year's Day, 1895, the point of  $83^{\circ} 24'$  N. was passed. This marked the ultimate excursion northward of former explorers. Passing this line, Nansen entered a sea never before traversed by ship.

For a season the *Fram* was frozen fast in an ice floe thirty feet in thickness ; but the stout ship at length broke loose and emerged from the situation wholly uninjured. Satisfied that the vessel would drift safely toward Greenland, Nansen, on the 14th of March, 1895, accompanied by Lieutenant Johansen, with dog sledges and small boats, started north on the ice floe. On the 7th of April, 1895, he arrived,

after indescribable toil and peril, in latitude  $86^{\circ} 14' N.$ , which was the highest point of his venture toward the pole.

The return journey was of incredible hardship. On the 22d of June, 1895, a seal was shot, and by this means the explorers were saved from starvation. The journey was resumed, and on the 24th of July land was seen, but the ice had now been broken up and two weeks passed before the shore was reached. The point of land was the hitherto unknown projection of Franz Joseph Land. Here Nansen and his companions dwelt during the winter of 1895-96. They lived on bear and walrus meat, in a hut roofed with skins and warmed with burning oil. With the coming of spring, the explorer proceeded down the coast, where they were met by Captain Jackson, leader of an English expedition, which had been sent to Franz Joseph Land on the day of Nansen's arrival. At Värdo the *Fram* entered open water a little northwest of Spitzbergen. The crew had been obliged to blast their way through one hundred and fifty miles of the ice pack. On August 20 the *Fram* was anchored safely in the harbor of Skaervo, Finmark. Such had been the good fortune of the expedition that not a single life was lost during the more than three years of exposure to the perils of the polar seas.

The 4th of March, 1897, witnessed at Washington City the brilliant event of the Inauguration of President William McKinley, twenty-fifth President of the United States. He had already constituted and announced, unofficially, his cabinet. The place of secretary of state was assigned to John Sherman, of Ohio. The other appointments were : Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, secretary of the treasury ; Russel A. Alger, of Michigan, secretary of war ; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy ; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, secretary of the interior ; Joseph McKenna, of California, attorney-general ; James A. Gary, of Mary-

land, postmaster-general ; James Wilson, of Iowa, secretary of agriculture.

Never could there be anything more outwardly auspicious, from a political point of view, than this complete restoration to power of the Republican party. Its victory seemed to be complete. The populous cities, with their tremendous corporate powers, were strongly devoted to the new President, and strongly influential in determining the policy of the incoming administration.

The political history of the country, reviewed for the last twenty years, thus showed a series of remarkable oscillations. The Democratic victory of 1884 succeeded the long-unbroken Republican ascendancy, which had gone before. The election of 1888 brought a revulsion and put the Republican party into power, under Harrison. The result in 1892 showed another striking reaction in the restoration to power of the Democratic party, during the second administration of Cleveland. The election of 1896 still again reversed the public judgment, and brought back the Republican ascendancy under McKinley.

William McKinley is of Scotch descent, whose grandfather fought with Washington, and was of that sturdy stock to which the West owes its reclamation from savages and its amazing development, industrial as well as agricultural. The McKinleys settled in Ohio as early as 1815, and it was at the village of Niles, Trumbull County, in that State, the President was born, January 29, 1843. His father was an iron founder and a man of some means and considerable influence, though he never aspired to political place. William was given all the advantages that his parents could afford. At the age of sixteen he entered Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, which, however, he attended only a short while when illness, and reverses of fortunes to his father, compelled his withdrawal from college and the tak-

ing up of the task of self-support. A year later he became a school-teacher, at the salary of twenty-five dollars per month, which he followed until the opening of the Civil War, when he offered himself among the first volunteers to enlist under President Lincoln's earliest call. For fourteen months he served as a private, but was thereafter rapidly promoted, to sergeant, second lieutenant, major, and for conspicuous gallantry and bravery in the Shenandoah Valley and West Virginia campaigns he was advanced to the rank of brevet brigadier-general. At the close of his army service he entered law school at Albany, New York, and graduated therefrom and was admitted to the bar in 1867, and began the practice of his profession in Canton, Ohio. Directly after, he was elected district attorney and held the place by re-election until 1876, when he was chosen to Congress and served five successive terms, and later (1890) he was chosen governor of Ohio by a majority of 80,000.

During Mr. McKinley's service in Congress he was a champion of the protective tariff policy and proposed the bill that upon passage became known as the McKinley Tariff Law. Mr. McKinley was married January 25, 1871, to Miss Ida Saxton, of Canton, to whom two daughters were born, but both died in infancy.

Garrett Augustus Hobart is a native of New Jersey, in which State, in Monmouth County, he was born in 1844. He graduated from Rutgers College with the degree of A. M., in 1863, and entered at once upon the study of law. His success at the bar was remarkably great almost from the beginning, though his first public position was not held until 1871, when he was appointed city counselor by the aldermanic board of Paterson. The following year he was elected to the legislature, and upon re-election was made Speaker of the House, and in 1877 was chosen State Senator. He was the caucus nominee of his party for United States

Senator in 1884, but the opposition was too great to be overcome. Thereafter he continued to be a powerful factor in New Jersey politics, but seeking no public place, outside from that of chairman of the State Executive Committee until his nomination to the Vice-Presidency.

More than one serious problem confronted the Republican party upon its restoration to power by the election of William McKinley. The Wilson tariff law was at best a makeshift, that while antagonizing the advocates of protection failed to satisfy the tariff reform element. The revenues had seriously fallen off and a period of almost unexampled depression set in. This condition was not due to the Wilson bill, for it was not in force a sufficient length of time for its merits to be tested, but really to the partial failure of crops in the United States, the falling prices of all farm produce because of large crops raised in competing countries, our export trade accordingly so seriously declined that a great dearth fell upon our commercial interests and the unrest that ensued as a consequence rendered a political change apparently necessary. When Mr. McKinley went into office his first act was to call a special session of Congress (March 15) to consider the financial depression and to enact such tariff legislation as in the judgment of the party would relieve the evil conditions. The Dingley tariff bill was promptly introduced and at once became a source of heated contention, but the Republican party had so large a majority and the bill being a strictly party measure, it passed that body March 31. The bill thereupon passed to the Senate, where it was taken up May 24, and after an exhaustive debate was finally passed on July 24, and the signature of the President was attached at four o'clock the same day.

Predictions were freely made by Mr. Dingley and the champions of his tariff bill that its passage would be quickly

followed by a great revival of business and that ample revenues would be obtained thereby for the support of the government. This latter prophecy was not verified, but the former was amply fulfilled, for almost instantly a period of extraordinary activity set in that developed into almost unexampled prosperity in all lines of trades. Manufactures set their wheels of production in motion, increased employment of labor was given at advanced wages, and wealth took up again its stately march. While these remarkably improved conditions quickly followed the return to power of the Republican party, the cause is not to be found entirely in the passage of the Dingley tariff law or the restoration of confidence. A factor equally great, if not greater, was that of natural conditions operating in the interest of our farmers. Foreign crops of 1896-97 were so small, while those of the United States were so large, that agriculture received a mighty stimulus, and our farmers, who before had become sadly reduced, received such high prices for their produce, especially for wheat, that they were able to discharge their indebtedness and to rise to the dignity of independence. During the years 1897-98, our total exports exceeded the enormous sum of one billion dollars, making a balance of trade in our favor greater than it ever was before. The farming class, coming into possession of wealth, spent freely for their necessities, which had been accumulating during a long period of unprofitable production, and this immense increase in the demand for all that enters into living and construction gave profitable employment to manufacturing plants that had been idle for four years.

Pursuant to the platform pledges of his party, President McKinley, shortly after his induction, appointed a committee to confer with similar representatives of European governments with a view to the international agreement, looking towards the use of silver at a fixed ratio with gold, but while

France was favorably disposed to adopt the double metallic standard, England and Germany could not be persuaded to join such a covenant, and hence the proposal came to naught. The free-silver (16 to 1) cause received another blow in the summer of 1897, by the discovery of immense gold-fields in the Yukon basin, Alaska, of which the most fabulous tales were told, and which have since been practically verified; and also by the further fact of their being a rapidly growing output of gold in South Africa, Australia and the United States. These several natural causes operating in conjunction, as it were, placed the advocates of free silver at a serious disadvantage in the contention, which was not improved by the Spanish-American War, concluded so triumphantly to our arms.

The most successful Exposition held within the United States, excepting alone the World's Fair, at Chicago, was opened at Omaha, Nebraska, June 1, 1898, and closed November 1, following. Notwithstanding that the Exposition was conceived during a time of extraordinary depression, and was continued during the Spanish-American War, when the public might be supposed to be wholly absorbed with the question then being arbitrated by the inexorable god of battles, the exhibition buildings were magnificent, the displays were wondrously fine, and the attendance was so large that a substantial profit was gained above all expenses.

The administration was placed upon severest trial before the people by the antecedent causes and conduct of the Spanish-American War, which had been threatening for many years, and several times averted by questionable diplomacy, that had served to postpone rather than to prevent a final settlement. The Cuban rebellion that began in February, 1895, proved to be the most serious uprising in the history of the colony. Fifty thousand insurgents were

in arms, against whom more than two hundred thousand Spanish soldiers operated ineffectually, and prosecution of the most devastating and cruel war so close to our borders could not fail to greatly affect our commerce and arouse our sympathies. Filibuster expeditions, carrying aid to the insurgents, evaded the vigilance of our authorities, and this help, which no amount of watchfulness could prevent, was fiercely condemned by Spain, developing feelings of intense bitterness and hate that resulted finally in the destruction of the second-class battleship *Maine*, in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898. That this deed was perpetrated by Spanish officers the American people earnestly believed, and the findings of the investigating board, while not conclusive, so indicated. A denial was made by the Spanish government; but the fact was not overlooked that while the heads of that government were protesting innocence, the Spanish people were rejoicing, and all manner of indignity was heaped upon Americans who chanced at that time to be in Spain and Cuba. War was now inevitable, for though President McKinley tried to stay the tide of public passion in order to give deliberation to the mighty question before him, he was urged to demand quick reparation of Spain by the people, who spoke in a voice of no doubtful import. The intolerance, the infamy, the treachery, and the medieval cruelty that had long distinguished Spain was to be punished and atoned at last. America, youngest but yet mightiest of the nations, whose discovery and first occupation was due to Spain, was to inflict the long-merited chastisement.

## CHAPTER LIII.

## WAR WITH SPAIN AND THE FILIPINOS.

The Cuban rebellion that finally prevailed, through the tragic incident involving the United States, had its overt beginning February 24, 1895, and continued with such aggression that Spain sent 200,000 soldiers to the island, and changed her governor-generals there three times, each one trying a different policy, but without effecting the purpose in view. Weyler's reconcentrado plan, his unexampled cruelties, and all the shocking barbarities of mediaevalism, failed to repress the rebellious and patriotic spirit of the Cubans, whose battle-cry was "victory or death." The people of the United States sympathized with the bitterly oppressed islanders, fighting so bravely almost in hand-reach of our shores, and assistance was demanded by all the human ties of mercy. The Cubans were starving amid the desolation of their homes, but their resolution to win independence never faltered. Appeals by proclamation of the President to send contributions of money, food and clothing, met with a quick and generous response, which relieving somewhat the distress of hunger of the patriots intensified Spanish hatred of Americans. The result of this was clearly to be foreseen. On February 9, 1898, a letter was printed by the Spanish Minister at Washington, Dupuy de Lome, viciously attacking the President, and six days later the second-class battleship "Maine" was destroyed in Havana harbor. Every American believed the disaster was caused by Spanish perfidy, and there immediately arose from every part of the United States a cry for prompt reparation. A court

of inquiry was appointed, but our people were aroused to such a pitch of anger and impatience that no one cared what the finding of the commission might be, for wrongs so long endured must now be redressed. A diplomatic correspondence passed between representatives of the two countries, but the months of seeming dilatoriness were really spent in making ready for the war that was inevitable. Request was made by the President that Spain suspend hostilities in Cuba, that negotiations for the independence of the islanders might be instituted, but Spain, arrogant and self-sufficient, brusquely refused. An ultimatum followed, April 20, and the issues were thereby joined. No official declaration of war was needed. Spain was known to be preparing to strike, and therefore, on April 23, the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers, which met with such an overwhelming response from all the States that more than 500,000 men offered their services.

Events moved swiftly after the volunteers came pouring into camps. The blare of the bugle and the roll of the drum filled the air, while Congress was fairly in an uproar voting money for army supplies. War was formally declared to exist April 24, and on the following day Commodore Dewey's fleet, then lying in the harbor of Hong Kong, was ordered to sail for Manila, where a Spanish fleet of eleven vessels, commanded by Admiral Montojo, was rendezvousing. Our war vessels were assembled and blockaded Havana, while the "New York," "Cincinnati" and monitor "Puritan" dashed along the Cuban coast, and halting before Matanzas, bombarded that port, April 27. On May 1 the whole country, the civilized world, indeed, was electrified by the news that Dewey, with the "Olympia," "Baltimore," "Boston," "Concord," "Raleigh" and "Petrel," had met the fleet of Montojo in Manila harbor

and utterly destroyed it, killing more than four hundred of the enemy, wounding twice as many more, and accomplishing this mighty victory with no other loss to the Americans than seven men slightly wounded, all members of the "Baltimore" crew. The prestige of the American sailor was established, and the power of our navy was conceded so generally that the war was now realized to be a brief conflict, with the American flag ascendant.

Admiral Cervera left Cape Verde Islands with a fleet of powerful armored cruisers for the seat of war in the West Indies, and on May 11 was sighted off Martinique. He was proud of his position as commander of four of the fastest and most effective cruisers that were ever built, and it was with confidence he came across the seas to relieve Havana, and if need be measure strength with the untried fleets of Schley and Sampson. Events soon changed his overweening confidence to supreme caution, and instead of proceeding to Havana he cruised about trying to evade the American fleets until on May 17 he took refuge in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba with the "Viscaya," "Almirante Oquendo," "Cristobal Colon," "Infanta Maria Teresa," and the two torpedo boat destroyers, the "Pluton" and "Furor."

In the meantime an invasion of Cuba was planned and carried into effect by an army of 16,000 Americans under Major Shafter, who arrived before Daiquiri, June 20, and completed the disembarkation two days later. The first call of the President was followed by a second, May 25, when 75,000 more volunteers were asked for, and the request immediately complied with. Two days after that date Commodore Schley discovered that Cervera's fleet was in Santiago harbor and brought his vessels before the entrance to prevent the enemy from escaping. At the same time he reported his

discovery to the Washington authorities, and very soon Commodore Sampson, with another squadron, joined the blockade, the combined fleet comprising the "New York," "Brooklyn," "Iowa," "Oregon," "Texas," and "Gloucester."

For more than a month the American fleet lay doggedly before Santiago waiting the appearance of the enemy, and cooperating with the land forces that besieged the city. On June 3 Naval Constructor Hobson, with seven heroic companions, navigated the old collier "Merrimac" into the narrow passage way leading to the harbor, and amid a rain of solid shot and shells from the shore batteries sank the old vessel in the jaws with a view to placing an obstruction that would prevent the Spanish cruisers from issuing. Though this almost unexampled feat of heroism failed of its immediate purpose, the act of incredible daring served as a powerful stimulus to the whole army and navy, and won admiration from every civilized nation. Miraculous as it seemed to be, Hobson and his companions escaped death from the storm of missiles poured upon the "Merrimac," and contrived to reach the shore where they were captured by the enemy and confined in the Moro until their exchange, July 6.

On June 24 a terrific battle took place at Guasimas, five miles from Santiago, in which there were heavy losses on both sides, but the advantage was with the Americans, and on July 1-2 El Caney and San Juan were carried by assaults, the enemy being beaten back with great losses.

On the following day, Sunday, July 3, a date as memorable as that of May 1, Cervera made a daring attempt to escape from Santiago harbor, seeing that to remain must inevitably result in the capture of his fleet, while to come forth was the alternative of almost certain annihilation. The powerful "Almirante Oquendo" was first to appear, ploughing her way

through the narrow passage, followed by the "Viscaya," "Infanta Maria Teresa," "Cristobal Colon," and the two torpedo-boat destroyers. It was a grand sight, though grim and terrifying, the opening act of a terrific drama that might well make the participants shudder with anxiety.

The peace of that Sabbath morning was suddenly destroyed by a clanging of bells, the sound of sharp orders, the bustle of preparation and the groans of engines. Commodore Schley was in immediate command of the American fleet, Commodore Sampson having gone on the flagship "New York" to confer with General Shafter, fifteen miles away from the scene of action. The "Oquendo" began the battle by firing at long range one of her big 11-inch Hontoria guns, and in a few moments the engagement was on in earnest, the "Brooklyn" leading, with the "Oregon," "Iowa" and "Texas" following in the order named. The Spaniards headed down the coast, westward, hoping to escape by superior speed, but the "Brooklyn" and "Oregon" tested their power to the utmost and superior gunnery shattered and disabled the Spanish cruisers, thus enabling the "Texas" and "Indiana," of slower speed, to get into the action and do great execution. In less than four hours the pride of the Spanish navy, four of the mightiest armored cruisers, from which so much had been expected, were driven upon the beach, set on fire, and reduced to wreckage, while of their crews nearly 300 were killed, 160 wounded, and 1,800 were made prisoners. The only casualty to the Americans was one man killed, Chief Yeoman Ellis, of the "Brooklyn," whose head was shot off by a cannon ball. The victory of Manila Bay, fought two months before, had been repeated, a wonder that history cannot parallel. The "Maria Teresa" was afterward raised by the efforts of Hobson, and an attempt was made to tow her to Hampton Roads,

but she broke away in a storm and after drifting several days went ashore on Cat Island November 8, and broke in pieces. The other three cruisers were never removed from the places where they perished under the American fire.

July 10, Santiago was bombarded from Aguadoras, and the next day Major General Miles arrived and conferred with General Shafter as to means for reducing the city. The lines were now drawn tighter and the Americans pressed the entrenched enemy so closely that General Toral asked for a brief truce, but hostilities were renewed and continued intermittently until July 17, when General Toral surrendered Santiago and the whole eastern province of Cuba, of which General Wood was directly appointed Military Governor.

The war hastened to a conclusion after the downfall of Santiago, where General Toral surrendered 24,000 Spanish soldiers in Eastern Cuba, 12,000 of whom were in Santiago. The losses to the American army during the fighting about Santiago were: 22 officers and 208 men killed, 1,203 wounded and 81 missing. But while it was felt the war must quickly cease because of Spain's reverses, a campaign was planned for the invasion of Porto Rico. General Miles, with 8,000 men, proceeded upon this enterprise, and landing at Guanica July 25, immediately began a march toward Ponce, which surrendered on the twenty-eighth, nor was he seriously opposed at any point, the natives everywhere hailing the Americans as deliverers.

On July 26 the French Ambassador at Washington, Jules Cambon, acting for Spain, asked the President upon what terms he would treat for peace. A reply was promptly given and the conditions were accepted by Spain on August 9 and a peace protocol was signed on the twelfth inst. The proclamation of an armistice stopped hostile operations in the West

Indies at once, but the news traveled less rapidly eastward, and on August 13 a combined naval and land attack was made upon Manila, and after a brief resistance the city surrendered unconditionally to General Merritt,

The war had been brought to a speedy close, but the end of hostilities was followed by other difficulties of a totally different and no less grave character. America had taken on great responsibilities by entering upon a colonial policy that came as an unavoidable legacy to leaven the country's triumph. After approval of the protocol, commissioners were appointed to frame definite terms of peace and restore friendly relations between the United States and Spain. These commissioners met by agreement in Paris and signed a permanent treaty December 10, by the terms of which the independence of Cuba was recognized and Spain transferred to the United States her sovereignty over the Philippines, Guam, Porto Rico and Isle of Pines. Our government took immediate possession of these islands, and also of Cuba, maintaining a military control over the latter until such times as it should be considered prudent to turn over the island to the people for self-government.

Considerable opposition was made in the United States Senate to a ratification of the peace treaty, objection being urged particularly to the acquisition of the Philippines. It was known that the Filipinos expected and demanded independence as the price of their assistance in expelling Spain from the islands. Aguinaldo had conducted a revolution that had fought Spain so aggressively and effectively as to encourage the hope that independence would be eventually won, and when he joined forces with the United States it was with the reckoning, if not the conviction, that our nation would grant to the Filipinos the same measure of self-government that was

promised to Cuba. A large number of Senators contended for this privilege, and prevented a confirmation of the treaty until February 6, 1899. Foreseeing that ratification must be the final result, the Filipinos developed a virulent hatred of Americans, charging the government with an act of bad faith, and with violating promises made by authorized agents of the United States. So rabid became this spirit of rancor that on February 4 a party of Filipinos attacked and tried to burn Manila, but were repulsed and several killed. This overt act fed afresh the deep distrust, that now broke out into actual fury, and the United States found that the ending of one war provoked another, and the putting down of this rebellion proved infinitely more serious than the conflict with Spain. Troops and war-ships were hurried to the islands, Major-General Elwell S. Otis was made military governor, succeeding General Merritt, and the war of conquest began in earnest.

On February 10, General Miller captured Iloilo, the chief port of the island of Panay, and on the same day Caloocan, seven miles north of Manila, was bombarded and taken. On March 25 a general advance was made against the Filipinos, who some 10,000 strong fell back before the Americans, abandoning one town to make a stand at another. In an engagement at Malinta, Colonel Egbert was killed which greatly infuriated the Americans who swiftly marched against Malolos, Aguinaldo's capital, that fell after a furious assault March 31.

A commission that had been appointed by the President to treat with the Filipinos tried to conciliate the insurgents by a proclamation of peace overtures, but this failed and the desultory war went on until the rainy season caused a temporary cessation of hostilities. Fighting was renewed, however, in the November following, and on the fourteenth of that

month, Major John A. Logan was killed in a skirmish near San Jacinto. On the twenty-sixth Vigan was assaulted and occupied, and as there was a lull thereafter for a few weeks General Otis thought the war was over, and declared all Philippine ports open to commerce. This very optimistic opinion was rudely dissipated on December 19, when in an action at San Mateo General Lawton was killed by a Filipino sharpshooter.

The year 1900 opened with small prospects of an early pacification of the Philippines. Aguinaldo had taken flight, and his congress disbanded, but while apparently there was no organized army to oppose the American forces, that now numbered 63,000 men, of all branches of the service, actual control did not extend more than a dozen miles from Manila. The Filipinos broke up into small bands and adopted guerilla tactics, harassing by sudden descents upon small parties and keeping the population in a state of terror.

On February 18 the President appointed a second commission, that was given power to supersede all military authority in the islands and to inaugurate a civil government. On April 3 Captain Dodd, with a squad of cavalry, surprised and defeated 200 insurgents, capturing 44 of the enemy, but four days later 1,200 Tagalos attacked two companies of the Fortieth Regiment Volunteers at Cagayan, Island of Mindanao. A vigorous battle followed, in which though the enemy was repulsed, it was not until fifteen Americans were wounded, seven mortally.

A serious reverse was inflicted upon a detachment of thirty-one men of the Forty-third Regiment Volunteers on April 15-17 at Catubig, a seaport of 10,000 inhabitants on the island of Samar. The party was one of several stationed at various parts of the island, with no expectation of being called

upon to do more than police duty, in preserving the peace, as no organized body of the enemy was known to exist on Samar. Suddenly a force of Filipinos numbering about six hundred descended upon the place with 200 rifles and one cannon. The thirty-one Americans were quartered in a convent, which the enemy fiercely attacked and set on fire by throwing burning hemp from an adjoining church. The men were driven out by the fierce flames, and as they retreated through the streets in an attempt to reach and escape by boats that were moored at the bank of a stream, several were shot down. Finding escape impossible, the remainder took shelter under a bank, where they held off the enemy, and while doing so entrenched themselves. In this place the gallant little band remained for two days, neither eating nor sleeping, but all the while fighting for their lives and drinking of the foul water of the creek that was at their backs. The Americans had good reason to economize in the use of their ammunition, and no man fired a shot until he saw a fair human target. So excellent was their marksmanship, so valorous the defence, that more than two hundred of the attacking party were killed, and the streets in the vicinity of the Americans were fairly filled with dead insurgents. On the evening of the seventeenth, when the survivors of the besieged party had expended nearly all their ammunition and were famished through two days of fasting, Lieutenant Sweeney, with ten men, made a sudden and spirited attack upon the insurgents from the rear, which threw them into confusion and utter rout, for they had no knowledge of the real strength of the attacking force. When relief was given it was found that of the thirty-one that originally composed the brave band of Americans nineteen had been killed, five were severely wounded, and only seven remained unhurt. It was the most disastrous battle of the war in the Philippines.

## CHAPTER LIV.

## GRAVE CHARGES GROWING OUT OF THE WAR.

In time of war public opinion is liable to violent outbursts of caustic criticism, and those in power rarely fail to be made the object of virulent attacks and unreasonable carping. Since the conflict ended with a complete triumph of our arms over Spain, it is with perfect dispassion now that the acts of the administration may be reviewed. The most loyal support was given to the President during the prosecution of the war, and even his political enemies will credit McKinley with the highest patriotic sentiments and a conscientious management of public affairs, looking always to a vigorous prosecution and an early and successful conclusion of the bloody strife. Whatever belief may be held respecting his subsequent policies, the integrity of the President's original purpose cannot be assailed. Very like President Grant, whose friendship often obscured his judgment, President McKinley is so unalterable in his confidences and attachments that he suffered somewhat from the criticism of the acts of certain subordinates, for whose retention in office he was responsible. That some scandals developed during the Spanish-American War is less surprising than if its management should have escaped all censure, for carping at the acts of others is not only a great American privilege, but a salutary one as well, since it no doubt serves as a prophylactic against public abuses, and very often leads to exposure and punishment of perfidious officials.

The greatest scandals of the war concerned the canned

beef supplied to the army in Cuba and Porto Rico, which was exploited so vigorously by certain metropolitan newspapers that Brig.-General Chas. P. Eagan, Commissary General, was suspended from the service (with pay) for five years, and Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, was so persistently pursued with charges of guilty knowledge of what was called "embalmed beef" contracts, that he resigned his portfolio, and was succeeded by Elihu Root, of New York. Criticisms of the administration were also made concerning the prices paid for auxiliary vessels, but the sober judgment of the people was not in sympathy with the censorious opinions expressed by less considerate persons, for the more practical appreciated the difficulties of creating a navy in an emergency, and that the need of vessels was so urgent and immediate that little time or opportunity was allowed for bargaining. More reasonable grounds for animadversion were found in the inadequacy of hospital supplies and shelter and a lack of surgeons, through which neglect of that arm of the service a great many lives were lost and terrible suffering entailed. Public criticism became so severe on the inefficiency of the administrative department that a special investigation, by sanitary experts, was ordered to be made of Camp Wikoff, on Montauk Point, Long Island, which resulted in a report strongly condemnatory of the War Department.

Following exposure of the unsanitary condition of Camp Wikoff, that shocked the entire country, came the dispute, bitterly contentious, of recognizing the government of the Filipinos, refusal to do which led to the beginning of hostilities and the Filipino war, which many influential citizens believe might have honorably been avoided.

Political scandals have not been lacking during the McKinley Administration, chief of which arose out of the selection of Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, to the U. S.

Senate in 1897. The charge of corrupt bargain and sale was so persistently made that a committee of investigation was appointed by the Ohio legislature, which after an exhaustive inquiry pronounced the charges sustained and recommended the expulsion of Mr. Hanna from the Senate, but the recommendation was never acted upon.

In the fall of 1899 M. S. Quay was a candidate for the Senate before the Pennsylvania legislature. Great bitterness was manifested against him and charges of bribery were freely made against him in addition to representations of his misfeasance while Treasurer of the State. The fight was so strenuous that the whole country became deeply interested. A dead-lock occurred in the legislature that continued until adjournment, whereupon Governor Stone at once appointed Mr. Quay to the Senatorship. When he came to take his seat, however, objection was made upon the ground that the Governor of a State has no power to usurp functions that belong distinctively to the legislature, and that a Senator cannot lawfully be chosen, under the constitution of Pennsylvania, except by the legislature in general or special session. Mr. Quay was popular with the senatorial body, where he had served twelve years, and his cause was championed by such an able statesman as Senator Geo. F. Hoar, and others, but precedent was so strongly against him four months passed without his friends being able to bring the question of his admission to a vote.

A greater scandal grew out of the election to the Senate (1899) of William A. Clark, of Montana, a man of vast wealth acquired chiefly in copper mining, and who had held many positions of great trust and honor. He was opposed in his candidacy by Marcus Daly, another copper king, and the campaign was conducted largely on financial lines. Mr. Clark was chosen, but after he had taken his seat charges were preferred that he had paid large sums of money to

members of the legislature and his expulsion was demanded. A long trial followed, during which a great many witnesses were examined, and the investigation is said to have cost the government \$500,000, but, as had been anticipated, he was not unseated, though public opinion was fully formed, and resulted in a renewed effort to bring about an amendment to the constitution providing for election of Senators by popular vote.

#### TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION.

Expansion of the United States by insular territory has been rapid since Mr. McKinley became President. The annexation of Hawaii by joint resolution of Congress July 6, 1898, with a total of 6,740 square miles and a mixed population of 109,020, was followed very soon by the acquisition of Porto Rico, October 18, 1898, with an area of 3,600 square miles and a population of 900,000; the Philippine archipelago, about 2,000 islands, which comprise an area of nearly 150,000 square miles and have a population estimated at 8,000,000; Guam, 1,000 square miles in area, and a population of 6,000. Wake Island was annexed February, 1899, but it is too small to figure as an acquisition.

For several years the United States, Great Britain and Germany had exercised joint control over the Samoa, or Society Islands. There had been more or less friction in the joint protectorate, arising out of the claims of two rival contestants to the throne. It was officially announced at Berlin and London on November 8, 1899, that an agreement, subject to the approval of the United States, had been concluded between Great Britain and Germany, by virtue of which the Samoan act was repealed and the islands of Upolo, Savii and the small adjacent islands were awarded to Germany as free property, and the island of Tutuila, and the near-lying islands were conceded to the United States.

This tripartite arrangement was ratified by the Senate directly upon notification, by which act the United States came into permanent possession not only of Tutuila, which has an area of fifty-four square miles and 4,000 inhabitants, but also of the very valuable harbor of Pago-Pago. From a naval point of view it is the key position to the Samoan group, and is no less advantageous as a base for the United States in the South Pacific. The harbor is of sufficient size and depth to accommodate fifty large vessels at one time, and is so well landlocked that the entrance is scarcely 500 feet wide. Situated halfway between Honolulu and Auckland, New Zealand, Pago-Pago is a convenient stopping place or coaling station for vessels engaged in the American and Australian trade.

Negotiations are also pending at this time for the acquisition, by purchase, of Chatham Island, of the Galapagos group, that belong to Ecuador. It lies directly under the equator, five hundred miles from the coast, and is admirably situated for a coaling station for American vessels, and will be especially valuable in event the Nicaragua Canal is dug. A purchase of the Danish West Indies is also under consideration at this writing, the acquisition of which would serve to complete our predominance in the West Indies, even should Cuba retain her independence, for maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine will preserve our paramountcy.

#### THE ADMISSION OF HAWAII.

It was in the latter part of 1897 that the annexation of Hawaii was accomplished, and a provisional government with S. B. Dole acting president was set up. A bill was prepared directly providing a government for the territory of Hawaii, but no attempt at passage was made until February 18, 1900, when the bill was called up and a ten days' dis-

cussion of its provisions followed. A vote was reached March 1, and the bill passed without amendment except the insertion of a declaration that nothing in the bill shall be construed as indicating an intention of granting statehood to the territory.

The bill designates the Hawaiian Islands as the territory of Hawaii, and makes all persons citizens of the Hawaiian Republic on August 12, 1898, citizens of the United States.

The executive power of the territory is vested in a legislature composed of a Senate and House of Representatives, the Senate to consist of fifteen members, elected for four years, and the House of thirty members, to be elected for two years. All legislative proceedings are to be conducted in the English language. Unusual safeguards are thrown around the ballot box.

The Governor is to be appointed by the President for a term of four years, and has all the powers conferred upon the President of the late Hawaiian Republic that are not inconsistent with this act.

The bill provides for a delegate in Congress, the establishment of a judiciary, both territorial and federal, and other necessary adjuncts of a territorial government, such as have been put in operation in this country. The Chinese exclusion act is extended to the territory.

An amendment that was offered to pay the ex-Queen Liliuokolana the value of the crown lands, that had been appraised at \$250,000, was laid on the table.

#### GOVERNMENT OF OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS.

The McKinley Administration was confronted by a grave question when we came, by force of circumstances, to be a great colonial power. The precedents which were made when the United States annexed contiguous territory could

not apply, with force or consistency, to the acquisition of islands far removed from the home government. The policy of protection, which had become a cardinal doctrine of the Republican party, obtruded itself, too, into the annexation question and caused a confusion which no modern statesmanship was able to reconcile. The policy had heretofore obtained that acquisition meant absorption, and the immediate enjoyment of all trade privileges possessed by the States. Territorial form of government carried with it no abridgment of trade privileges, so that our territories and Alaska enjoyed free-trade intercourse with the United States. The annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines, however, raised a new question that controverted the old maxim, "the constitution follows the flag." Protected interests, especially the sugar and tobacco trusts, at once demanded that a discriminative tariff be laid upon productions of Porto Rico and the Philippines, basing their arguments less upon the justice of such imposition than upon the effects absolute free trade would have upon home industries,—especially tobacco and sugar. The President at first recommended free trade with Porto Rico as a measure of right and good faith, but he was overborne by demand of the powerful trust barons and accepted a compromise in order to avoid an inglorious defeat. The original tariff agreed upon for products from Porto Rico was 25 per cent. of the rates fixed by the Dingley Bill. The compromise measure was 15 per cent. of the Dingley rates and the restitution, or "donation" as it was called, to Porto Rico, of all tariff receipts from the island, from the date of its acquisition, October 18, 1898, to January 1, 1900, the total aggregating \$2,095,000. This concession, which permitted the evil principle to remain, gave no satisfaction, and as there appeared no other way of settling the question it was carried directly to the Supreme Court, upon the contention that the Con-

gress had no authority for levying a tariff, or passing laws that discriminate against trade between the States or any part of the established territory of the United States.

The fact must not be overlooked, notwithstanding Mr. McKinley in his Annual Message recommended that the people of Hawaii "are entitled to the benefits and privileges of our constitution," the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Paris (1898) asserted and had adopted at the end of the ninth article the following clause: "The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories (islands) hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." In the treaty with France, 1803, for the purchase of Louisiana, for the protection of its citizens, there was secured the insertion of the following article:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States." Similar articles appear in the treaties of Spain (1819) for the purchase of Florida, and with Mexico, 1848.

It is upon the marked differences that distinguish the treaty of 1898 from previous ones ceding territory to the United States that certain affected interests rely for a constitutional interpretation, placing the right to levy a tariff on Porto Rico and Philippine products with Congress. It can be seen at once that the question is one which if decided favorable to the Protection policy will be followed by a clamor for constitutional amendment. While, if the decision be opposed to that policy, a rift will be created in the principle of protection that will fiercely stimulate the agitation for free trade,

## THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE.

One of the most important events that transpired during the McKinley Administration was the International Conference to consider terms of universal and permanent peace throughout the world. On August 24, 1898, the Emperor Nicholas of Russia issued a rescript proposing an International Peace Conference and inviting representatives of all foreign governments to attend. There was a general acceptance of the proposal, and President McKinley, in his Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1898, recommended participation, which was favorably acted upon. The concluding clause of the Czar's rescript is as follows: "This conference will be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge into one powerful focus the efforts of all the States, sincerely seeking to make the great conception of Universal Peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord, and it would, at the same time, cement their agreement by a corporate consecration of the principles of equity and right, whereon rest the security of States and the welfare of people."

The purpose of the Czar was well conceived, for he contemplated the organization of an International Tribunal of Arbitration, to which all disputes between nations would be referred for final determination, the universal recognition of which would cause the abolition of all large standing armies, and the retirement of great fleets. All countries would thereby be relieved of the tremendous burdens of military maintenance, and universal peace would prevail.

In accordance with the Czar's proposals representatives to the Peace Conference were appointed by all the recognized powers, and the convention assembled at The Hague,

Netherlands, May 18, 1899, and continued in session until July 29th, following. The United States Representatives, appointed by the President, were: Andrew D. White, Ambassador to Berlin; Seth Low, President of Columbia University; Stanford Newell, Minister at The Hague; Capt. William Crozier, of the Ordnance Department; Capt. A. T. Mahan, of the Navy; and Frederick Hall. The conference was opened by Wilhelmina, Queen of Netherlands, and after effecting an organization and appointment of committees, discussion of the question of disarmament and its sequence was entered upon. The results were not all that had been hoped for, but some important practical ends were reached, among which the following may be mentioned. In a revision of the Laws of War, the absolute prohibition of pillage, and the destruction or confiscation of works of art, was enjoined; also an extension of the Geneva Red Cross rules, and a humane system concerning the rights of prisoners of war, was concurred in. In opposition, however, to this humane recommendation, a resolution to prohibit the use of asphyxiating shells, like Lyddite, and expanding bullets, was rejected, likewise a proposal made by the United States delegates to exempt private property from capture on the high seas.

The most important achievement of the convention was the adoption of a treaty establishing a Court of Arbitration of disputes between nations. In the case of the United States this treaty had to be ratified by the Senate before becoming binding upon this country, but this was done the latter part of February, 1900. The Arbitration Treaty comprises sixty-one articles and is divided into four distinct subjects, viz.: 1. The Maintenance of General Peace. 2. Good Offices of Mediation. 3. International Commissioners of Inquiry. 4. International Arbitration. The treaty, summarized, is as follows:

Article 1.—With the object of preventing, as far as possible, recourse to force in international relations, the signatory powers agree to use all endeavors to effect by pacific means a settlement of the differences which may arise among them.

Article 2.—The signatory powers decide that in cases of serious differences or conflict they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or several friendly powers.

Article 3.—Independently of this, the signatory powers deem it useful that several of the powers not committed to the arbitration scheme shall, on their own initiative, offer, as far as circumstances permit, their good offices or mediation to the contending States. The right of offering their good offices belongs to powers not connected with the conflict, even during the course of hostilities, which act can never be regarded as an unfriendly act.

Article 4.—The part of mediator consists in reconciling conflicting claims and appeasing resentment which may have arisen between contending States.

Article 5.—The functions of mediator cease from the moment it may be stated by one of the contending parties, or by the mediator himself, that the compromise or basis of an amicable understanding proposed by him has not been accepted.

Article 6.—Good offices and mediation have the exclusive character of counsel, and are devoid of obligatory force.

Article 7.—The acceptance of mediation, unless otherwise stipulated, may have the effect of interrupting the obligation of preparing for war. If the acceptance supervenes after the opening of hostilities it shall not interrupt, unless by a convention of a contrary tenor, military operations that may be proceeding.

Article 8.—The signatory powers agree in recommending the application of special mediation in the event of threatened interruption of peace between members. Contending States may each choose a power to which they will entrust the mission of entering into a negotiation with a power chosen by the other side with the object of preventing a rupture of pacific relations, or, in the event of hostilities, of restoring peace.

Articles 9 to 14 provide for the institution of an international Commission of Inquiry for the verification of facts in cases of minor disputes not affecting the vital interest or honor of States, but impossible of settlement by ordinary diplomacy. The report of an Inquiry Commission will not force an arbitral judgment, leaving the contending parties full liberty to either conclude an amicable arrangement on

the basis of the report or have recourse ulteriorly to mediation or arbitration.

Articles 15 to 19 set forth the general object of and benefits it is hoped to derive from the arbitration court, and declare that signing the convention implies an undertaking to submit in good faith to arbitral judgment. The summary of the proposed treaty continues :

Article 20.—With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences not regulated by diplomatic means the signatory powers undertake to organize in the following manner a permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times and exercising its functions, unless otherwise stipulated, between the contending parties in conformity with the rules of procedure inserted in the present convention.

Article 21.—This court is to have competency in all arbitration cases, unless the contending parties come to an understanding for the establishment of special arbitration jurisdiction.

Article 22.—An international bureau established at The Hague and placed under the direction of a permanent Secretary-General will serve as the office of the court. It will be the intermediary for communications concerning meetings. The court is to have the custody of archives and the management of all administrative affairs.

Article 23.—Each of the signatory powers shall appoint within three months of the ratification of the present article not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral consideration, and prepared to accept the functions of arbitrator. The persons thus nominated will be entered as members of the court on a list, which will be communicated by the bureau to all the signatory powers. Any modification of the list will be brought by the bureau to the knowledge of the signatory powers. Two or more powers may agree together regarding the nomination of one or more members, and the same person may be chosen by different powers. Members of the court are to be appointed for the term of six years. The appointments are renewable. In case of the death or resignation of a member of the court, the vacancy is to be filled in accordance with the regulations made for the original nomination.

Article 24.—The signatory powers who desire to apply to the court for a settlement of differences shall select from the general list a number of arbitrators, to be fixed by agreement. They will notify the bureau of their intention of applying to the court, and give the names of the arbitrators they may have selected. In the absence of a convention to the contrary an arbitral tribunal is to be constituted in accordance with the rules of Article 1. Arbit-

trators thus nominated to form an arbitral tribunal for a matter or question will meet on the date fixed by the contending parties.

Article 25.—The tribunal will usually sit at The Hague, but may sit elsewhere by consent of the contending parties.

Article 26.—The powers not signing the convention may apply to the court under the conditions prescribed by the present convention.

Article 27.—The signatory powers may consider it their duty to call attention to the existence of the permanent court to any of their friends between whom a conflict is threatening, which must always be regarded as a tender of good offices.

The United States delegates attached to their acceptance of Article 27 the following declaration: "Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in said convention be so construed as to require the relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

Article 28.—A permanent council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers residing at The Hague and the Netherlands Foreign Minister, who will exercise the functions of President, will be constituted at The Hague as soon as possible after the ratification of the present act. The council will be charged to establish and organize an international bureau, which will remain under its direction and control. The council will notify the powers of the constitution of the court and arrange its installation, draw up the standing orders and other necessary regulations, will decide questions likely to arise in regard to the working of the tribunal, have absolute powers concerning the appointment, suspension, or dismissal of functionaries or employes, will fix the emoluments and salaries, and control the general expenditure. The presence of five members at duly convened meetings will constitute a quorum. Decisions are to be taken by a majority of the votes. The council will address annually to the signatory powers a report of the labors of the court, the working of its administrative services, and of its expenditures.

Article 29.—The expenses of the bureau are to be borne by the signatory powers in the proportion fixed for the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article 30.—The powers who accept arbitration will sign a special act, clearly defining the object of the dispute, as well as the scope of the arbitrators. The powers' act confirms the undertaking of the parties to submit in good faith to the arbitration judgment.

Article 31.—Arbitration functions may be conferred upon a single arbitrator, or on several arbitrators designated by the parties at their discretion, or chosen from among the members of the permanent court established by the present act. Unless otherwise decided, the formation of the arbitration tribunal is to be effected as follows: Each party will appoint two arbitrators, who will choose a chief arbitrator. In case of a division, the selection is to be intrusted to a third power, whom the parties will designate. If an agreement is not effected in this manner, each party is to designate a different power, and the choice of a chief arbitrator is to devolve upon them.

Article 32.—When an arbitrator is a sovereign, or head of a State, the arbitral procedure depends exclusively on his august decision.

Article 33.—The chief arbitrator is President de jure. When the tribunal does not contain a chief of arbitration, the tribunal may appoint its own President. He may be designated by the contending parties, or, failing this, by the arbitration tribunal.

Articles 34 to 50 provide for the appointment of councilors, language to be employed in conducting the case, rules of procedure, and sessions behind closed doors.

Article 51 stipulates that majority decisions shall be rendered in writing, and minority opinions shall be submitted in the same manner, and both shall be signed by the councilors.

The concluding articles refer respectively to the rendering of decisions by the court at public sittings, the revision of proceedings, where irregularity or new evidence is discovered, and provisions for showing the cost of the tribunal without reference to penalties imposed.

While there was general assent to the provisions of the peace proposals by members of the conference to make them effective, all the countries participating had to ratify the terms, and it was then that insurmountable difficulties in the form of objections interposed. There was a hesitancy upon the part of each country to take the initiative

to bind themselves to an observance of the express conditions, and the result was that the United States was the only power that ratified the agreement. The moral effect, however, may not be discounted, for though universal peace is a dream not to be realized this side the millennium, the bringing together of representatives of all countries for an avowed peaceful purpose must be a distinct gain in increasing the disposition to refer future disputes to arbitration.

#### THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

The discoveries of gold in Alaska were followed promptly by great friction between the United States and the Dominion of Canada over the boundary line between Alaska and British America, which had never been accurately delimited. Almost simultaneously a dispute between the two nations arose over the fishery question. After a long diplomatic correspondence it was finally agreed to refer the matters at issue to a Joint High Commission for determination. The international commission assembled in Quebec, August 23, 1898, with Lord Herschel as president, and at once entered upon the consideration of the following principal questions :

1. The questions in respect to the fur seals of Behring Sea and the waters of the North Pacific Ocean.
2. Provisions in respect to the fisheries off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and in the waters of their common frontiers.
3. Provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary by legal and scientific experts if the commission shall so decide, or otherwise.
4. Provisions for the transit of merchandise in transportation to or from either country, across intermediate territory of the other, whether by land or water, including natural and artificial waterways and intermediate transit by sea.
5. Provisions relating to the transit of merchandise from one country to be delivered at points in the other beyond the frontier.
6. The question of the alien labor laws, applicable to the subjects or citizens of the United States and of Canada.

7. Mining rights of the citizens or subjects of each country within the territory of the other.
8. Such readjustment and concessions as may be deemed mutually advantageous, of customs duties applicable in each country to the products of the soil or industry of the other, upon the basis of reciprocal equivalents.
9. A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting naval vessels on the lakes.
10. Arrangements for the more complete definition and marking of any part of the frontier line, by land or water, where the same is now so insufficiently defined or marked as to be liable to dispute.
11. Provisions for the conveyance for trial or punishment of persons in the lawful custody of the officers of one country through the territory of the other.
12. Reciprocity in wrecking and salvage rights.

The Joint High Commission held numerous sessions in Quebec and the city of Washington, and being unable to adjust all differences by treaty, on the 20th of October, 1899, a *modus vivendi* was negotiated between the State Department and the British Foreign Office, the text of which is as follows :

It is hereby agreed between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain that the boundary line between Canada and the Territory of Alaska, in the region about the head of Lynn Canal, shall be provisionally fixed without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary, as follows :

In the region of the Dalton Trail, a line beginning at the peak west of Porcupine Creek, marked on the Map No. 10 of the United States Commission, December 31, 1895, and on Sheet No. 18 of the British Commission, December 31, 1895, with the number of 6,500; thence running to the Klehini (or Klaheelaa) River, in the direction of the peak north of the river, marked No. 5,020 on the aforesaid United States map and No. 5,025 on the aforesaid British map; thence following the high or right bank of the said Klehini River to the junction thereof with the Chilkat River, a mile and a half, more or less, north of Klukwan, provided that persons proceeding to or from Porcupine Creek shall be freely permitted to follow the trail between the said creek and the said junction of the rivers into and across the territory on the Canadian side of the temporary line wherever the trail crosses to such side, and subject to such reasonable regulations for the protection of the revenue as the Canadian government may prescribe, to carry with them over such part or parts of the trail between the said points as may lie on the Canadian side of

the temporary line, such goods and articles as they desire, without being required to pay customs duties on such goods and articles and from said junction to the summit of the peak east of the Chilkat River, marked on the aforesaid Map No. 10 of the United States Commission with the number 5,410, and on the Map No. 17 of the aforesaid British Commission with the number 5,490.

On the Dyea and Skagway trails, the summits of the Chilkoot and White passes.

It is understood, as formerly set forth in communications of the Department of State of the United States, that the citizens or subjects of either power found by this arrangement within the temporary jurisdiction of the other shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy.

The government of the United States will at once appoint an officer or officers, in conjunction with the officer or officers to be named by the government of Her Britannic Majesty, to mark the temporary line agreed upon by the erection of posts, stakes, or other appropriate temporary marks.

No sessions have been held by the Joint High Commission since the *modus vivendi* was negotiated, which may be taken as a settlement of the dispute until new questions arise to revive the contention.

#### THE KENTUCKY ELECTION TRAGEDY.

A tragic and very serious incident occurred in Frankfort, Kentucky, January 30, 1900, which was the culmination of a political dispute, that for a while threatened the gravest consequences, giving rise to a just fear that civil war would be precipitated in the State. The circumstances that led to this painful tragedy, and its results, were as follows: In the fall of 1899, at the State elections in Kentucky, William E. Goebel was the Democratic nominee for governor against William S. Taylor. The nomination of the former had been bitterly contested, upon the grounds of his moral unfitness for the high position to which he aspired. Goebel, who admittedly was a man of great personal courage and political resource, was at the time a State Senator, whose services were chiefly distinguished for opposition to the Louisville

& Nashville R. R. Co., whose charter he sought to have revoked for interference in State elections and lobbying through the legislature measures that it was alleged bore oppressively upon the commerce of the State. He was also hated by an influential element of his own party for the killing of John Sandford, while the Republicans charged him with forcing laws by which the control of the State was given almost irrevocably to the Democrats, through appointment of a partisan election board. The election of 1899 was marked by intense excitement, not only because of personal feeling that entered into the campaign, but also because the legislature was to choose a United States Senator to succeed Blackburn. On several occasions a riot was narrowly averted, and bloodshed was expected at every political meeting. Fortunately these fears were disappointed, and the election passed off with surprising quietness.

The people of Kentucky breathed easier when election day passed without a tragedy, but it was the calm that preceded a great political storm. When the returns were certified they showed a majority of 2,383 in favor of Taylor, and the election certificate was accordingly issued to Taylor and the other State officers on the Republican ticket, but by the same returns a majority of Democratic candidates for the legislature was declared.

Goebel and his party refused to abide by the election returns, and, setting up a cry of fraud, committed chiefly in Louisville, carried their contention before the Election Board, which after a long hearing decided that Goebel had been lawfully elected by a small plurality. When, therefore, the legislature was convened at Frankfort, January 20, 1900, the two governors were at the Capitol to establish themselves in the gubernatorial office. Taylor, holding the certificate, took possession of the State House, and, foreseeing trouble, took the precaution to summon a large force of

emergency police, which he stationed in front of the Capitol to protect him in the discharge of his executive duties. Fearing also, if the legislature were permitted to assemble, the large Democratic majority would declare Goebel governor, Taylor stationed a strong guard around the Capitol, instructed to allow none of the members to enter. When the Democratic members attempted to meet successively in the courthouse, city hall, and a church, the same armed guard interposed to prevent the assembling. This was the situation, alarming enough, when near the noon hour of January 30th, Goebel, accompanied by Colonel Jack Chinn, approached the State House. As the two drew near the fountain one or more shots were fired, apparently from the Executive Mansion, which is separated from the Capitol by a narrow passage. In the great confusion which the shooting caused, it was quite impossible to tell certainly whether the shots came from a second story window of the Governor's residence, or from the office room of the Secretary of State, but the bullet, or bullets, were manifestly from a Winchester rifle, and struck Goebel in the right shoulder, near the breast, and ranged slightly downward, passing through the left lung, and issued from the left side. Goebel fell mortally wounded, but so great was his vitality and determination to live that he survived until seven o'clock P. M. of the following Saturday, February 3.

The shooting down of so prominent a man, whose friends were as devotedly attached as his enemies were vindictive, naturally provoked the most intense excitement, and civil war appeared to be inevitable between the bitter partisans. So extreme was the public agitation that no immediate steps were taken to discover the assassin. The city of Frankfort was filled with heavily armed mountaineers, and suspicion naturally attached to some one of these as the murderer and, as is usual upon such occasions, many con-

tradictory reports were quickly put upon wing, but the assassin very successfully evaded discovery.

Taylor, as an evidence of his great regret for the cowardly killing of his rival, personally offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of the assassin, and the peace officers exerted themselves to apprehend the culprit, but without avail. The popular unrest was so great, and the danger so imminent of attempting to dissolve the legislature, or to continue the session in Frankfort, that Taylor ordered the assembly to adjourn to London, Laurel County, where some of the Republican members gathered, but the Democrats, refusing to recognize Taylor as governor, paid no attention to the summons and threatened to resist by force any attempt to arrest them for contempt.

The body of Goebel was conveyed to Louisville, and thence to Covington, his home place, the people along the way paying the greatest respect, and manifesting sincere grief, so that gradually public sentiment among persons of all political faiths was turned by the assassin's deed against Taylor. J. C. W. Beckham, the Democratic Lieutenant-Governor, was now sworn in as Goebel's successor, and at once issued a call convening the legislature in Louisville, to which the Democratic majority promptly responded, and sessions were accordingly held there. Taylor, however, continued to hold possession of the Frankfort State House, by aid of the militia, and from this protected retreat appealed first to the President for a force to put down what he pronounced to be an insurrection against his lawful authority. President McKinley very promptly refused the aid requested, upon the ground that the proof of insurrection beyond the power of the State authorities to deal with was not established. Thereupon Taylor applied to the Federal courts (Judge Taft) for an order restraining the Democratic leaders from interfering with his exercise of the functions of

the governorship, basing his application upon the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, but Judge Taft denied the request and referred the matter to the State courts for determination.

The gravity of the situation was such, notwithstanding a clash of opposing parties had been averted, that representatives of Taylor and Beckham met in Louisville and tried to arbitrate the differences, but Taylor refused to abide by the recommendations of his partisans, and recalled the legislature from London to meet in Frankfort, where the minority held their sessions thereafter, while the Democratic majority continued to meet in Louisville, pending decision of the State courts. In the meantime the assassin was not discovered, and ugly reports continued to circulate, and suspicion was directed against several persons with no better ground than partisan prejudice and an excuse for police stupidity. The aggravation at length became so great that the Democratic faction of the legislature passed a bill appropriating the sum of \$100,000 to be paid as a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the murderer; but this remarkable measure, unprecedented in the history of crime, had no other effect for the time than to arouse great fear that so large a reward might promote a conspiracy to convict some innocent man. But the grave crisis that threatened Kentucky passed with the sacrifice of William Goebel, whose death may never be avenged.

A settlement of the question as to who was the lawful governor remained undetermined, and a dual form of State government continued. A proposal was made to refer the matter to the State courts, but Taylor objected on the grounds of political prejudice that would prevent a fair decision. Notwithstanding this refusal, after the United States District Court refused to hear the contention and relegated the question to the Circuit Court as the proper tribunal, the

consolidated cases of the rival governors was taken to the Circuit Court, where, after a full hearing, a decision was rendered March 10, denying jurisdiction in a gubernatorial contest, and holding that by the State Constitution the settlement of such contention rests entirely with the legislature. This decision had been anticipated by Taylor, who forthwith appealed to a higher court, both sides agreeing to maintain the *status quo* pending a final decision, but the militia was still retained, and the truce was therefore an armed and constantly menacing one.

## CHAPTER LIV.

## THE NICARAGUA CANAL QUESTION.

ONE of the most serious questions that has agitated the American people for many years concerns the construction of an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The matter derives increased importance by reason of our national expansion in commerce and territory, and particularly because of the annexation of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines. No greater problem confronted the McKinley Administration, and its settlement is not without some misgivings, even to the possibility of involving the Monroe Doctrine and foreign complications. A brief history of the canal project possesses special interest because of the issues raised by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty submitted in February, 1900.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 was followed by a great rush of population to the new fields, and, as an overland trail had scarcely been made, the travel at first was almost entirely by way of the Isthmus. It was this mighty flux of gold-seekers, and the wake of commercial adventurers that swept along like a resistless tide across the narrow neck dividing the oceans, that prompted the idea of the Isthmian ship canal.

In pursuance of this purpose a treaty was entered into with the government of Nicaragua in 1849, whereby the United States obtained permission to construct a canal across the Isthmus by way of Lake Nicaragua, but one end of it, Greytown, was occupied by British settlers, and Great

Britain claimed a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, who were supposed to own some territory in that neighborhood. The feeling ran high, and Mr. Clayton, who was Secretary of State, asked, through Sir H. L. Bulwer, the British Minister at Washington, that Great Britain withdraw her claims to the coast so as to permit the canal to be built at once under the joint control of the United States and Nicaragua. The British government declined, but agreed to enter into a treaty for a joint protectorate over the canal. This was negotiated by Mr. Clayton and Sir H. L. Bulwer, and was signed at Washington April 19, 1850. Each nation declared that it would not obtain an exclusive control over the said ship canal, nor erect fortifications commanding the same, nor exercise any authority over any part of Central America.

This treaty never gave satisfaction, and Mr. Frelinghuy-sen, our Secretary of State, said in an official dispatch that the treaty was void, using this language: "First, that the consideration of the treaty having failed, its object never having been accomplished, the United States did not receive that for which they covenanted; and secondly, that Great Britain has persistently violated her agreement not to colonize the Central American coast in establishing settlements in Honduras and Guatemala."

Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State, made the contention that the treaty was abrogated in 1888 by Great Britain signing the Constantinople Convention, to which the United States was not invited. This convention provided for the control of the Suez Canal by European Powers, but as England held the majority of stock, and by diplomatic adroitness had a clause inserted in the treaty giving Egypt the right to protect her interests by fortifying the canal, her ends were completely gained, for Egypt was made a dependency, so to speak, of England, and the right of fortifying both

ends of the canal thus reverted to England, which she promptly used to her advantage. Mr. Blaine further contended that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty applied to a canal to be immediately constructed, and as the scheme contemplated in the treaty was abandoned, the treaty lost effect and expired by that fact.

On February 5, 1900, John Hay, the Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, signed a new treaty to supersede the Clayton-Bulwer convention. This agreed:

1. That "the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States."
2. That "the canal shall be free and open in time of war as in time of peace to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of equity, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise."
3. "No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the water adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness or disorder."
4. "The canal shall never be blockaded, and vessels of war of the belligerents shall not take stores in it except so far as it may be strictly necessary."

Of course, the formal document comprises numerous articles and many sections, but the points enumerated above contain the gist of the convention. The opposition was mainly upon the prohibition of fortifications. To the British contention that it was placing the canal on the same basis as the Suez Canal, it was pointed out that Great Britain commands all the approaches to the Suez Canal, and has provided well for its use if war should occur. It

was further stated that Great Britain, in her West India possessions, possessed the nearest base to the Nicaragua Canal. In addition to all that, it was claimed that Great Britain had already nullified the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and that this new negotiation was in no sense necessary.

The opposition developed so much strength that Mr. Morgan in the Senate, and Mr. Hepburn in the House, introduced measures looking to absolute control of the canal by the United States. An estimate of the cost of construction was also obtained, and a bill was passed appropriating \$10,000,000, to begin the work, with the understanding that the estimated total cost of \$140,000,000 should not be exceeded.

The press of Great Britain, probably reflecting the opinion of the Foreign Affairs office, and the desire, as well, for an alliance with the United States, were almost a unit in support of the proposal that the canal be built, controlled, and fortified by the United States, but gave warning of the dangers that may thereby be incurred, which is thus expressed by the *Spectator* :

“ British interests are entirely on the side of the fortification of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States. Any one who takes the trouble to think the matter out will see this at once. What we want is complete and absolute neutralization of the Nicaragua Canal.

“ We want our ships to be able to pass freely through the canal in case of war with any continental power. We want to see our enemies prevented from converting the canal and its entrances into hostile ports. There is only one way to secure absolute neutrality of the canal—to place it in the hands of a power strong enough to enforce that neutrality against all comers.

“ That America should be the power is the most fortunate for us, for barring the possibilities of civil war, which must exist in the Anglo-Saxon world just as they do elsewhere, we do not intend to go to war with America, but having helped to make America the guardian of the canal, we are not such idiots as to want to tie its guardian’s hands behind his back. On the contrary, we want to see its guardian hold the canal so strongly that no one will be able to challenge his right.

“ France owns Martinique and Guadaloupe in the West Indies, besides

French Guiana on the South American Continent, and has great interests in the Pacific Islands and the far East. She also has, owing to the Panama Canal scheme, a very great sentimental and, in a sense, financial interest in piercing the isthmus. It is most unlikely she would have been content to sit with folded hands and make no comment on the new arrangement.

"Germany, with far more ocean-going shipping than the United States, and with her great aspirations in South America, as well as in the far East, would not be likely to consent to America having all her own way in the matter of joining the two oceans.

"If America likes to risk foreign friction by claiming the right to fortify, it is not for us to object. If, then, America asks us to give up the clause forbidding fortification, we ought to, and most certainly should at once agree. But unless we are greatly mistaken, the United States will not care to stir up a hornet's nest ; she will probably be content to remember that as the guardian of the neutrality of the canal she will have a right—nay, a duty—imposed on her to do what is needful effectively to enforce neutrality.

"At any rate, the Americans must remember that this fortification is not forbidden in British interests. It is against those interests. If America did not ask that the new agreement should differ in this respect from the Suez Canal agreement it was because she had good reasons of her own, reasons to be found in the determination of the great powers to be consulted in all matters of such magnitude as an interoceanic canal.

"Great Britain has no doubt in effect admitted and acknowledged the Monroe Doctrine, but remember that the rest of the world has done nothing of the kind."

The final report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate was submitted March 9. All the members signed the report, except Senator Morgan, who dissented and submitted a minority report. The committee very carefully reviewed every phase of the Nicaragua Canal question, and gave an interesting history of the conception of the enterprise and the political issues growing out of the scheme, which originally contemplated the construction of the canal with English capital. The report summarized describes the conditions brought about by the acquisition by the United States of the territory through the war with Mexico, and the tremendous increase in trans-isthmian traffic as a result of the discovery of gold in California.

"The subject of the canal was, at this early time," says the report, "of as great interest as at present. This interest led to the negotiations of treaties with Nicaragua and Colombia in 1848, by United States Minister Elijah Meis, under which authority to construct the canal was given and under which the Panama Railroad was later built."

The report shows that Secretary of State Clayton reprimanded Mr. Meis for negotiating those treaties, the latter having no authority to do so. Later, however, Mr. Clayton used them to compel England to accede to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Letters to prove this are quoted.

The difficulties encountered by England's support of the claim of the Mosquito Indians to the ownership of the mouth and the lower part of the San Juan River, a part of the proposed route of the present canal, are described in the report, and Mr. Clayton is represented as saying, when this difficulty is removed, that the United States had no intention of obtaining exclusive rights over the canal, but that this country would make it a great waterway for the use of all nations.

After citing documents to show Mr. Clayton's position, the report says that the earliest declaration against the exclusion of the military control of the canal was made by Mr. Cass in 1857, when he wrote a letter suggesting a joint protection by France, Great Britain and the United States, against any internal disturbance in the countries through which the canal was to pass.

"Thus," concludes the report on this point, "the United States took the same ground that is reached in the convention of 1900, for the universal decree of the neutral, free and innocent use of the canal as a world's highway, where war should not exist. The great safeguard for the canal, then, was really suggested by Mr. Cass in 1857."

The report says that the only objection recommended by

this country to any of these old treaties, as binding contracts, was England's refusal to abandon certain islands and possessions on the coast of Nicaragua, which she claimed were not held after the ratification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in violation of the terms of that convention.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty, it is asserted, was reaffirmed by the Dallas-Clarendon treaty of 1854, after four years of searching examination. Documents are quoted to show that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty has remained in operation. The report says:

"Since 1860 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty has been recognized by the government as a subsisting contract. Strong reasons have been frequently stated, and some have always denied its obligatory force, but no movement to accomplish that result has been made either by Congress or the Executive.

"This treaty is, therefore, open and existing as a binding and unexecuted compact, with the express approval of the United States as to the question of our control of the canal and our right to build and fortify it. It is executed in part and therefore un repealable as to all other questions and matters covered by its provisions. A question of its abrogation, raised at this time, would only relate to the parts of the treaty that remain to be executed.

"The abrogation of this part of the treaty would leave Great Britain in the possession of the rights she has acquired in her treaties with Guatemala and Honduras as to the territory of those States, and it would leave her in the enjoyment of her treaty rights as to the canal that are granted her by Nicaragua in the treaty of August 18, 1860."

The report describes these British rights and how they were acquired by England, and continues:

"The right to a footing in Nicaragua thus acquired by Great Britain is full of peril to this republic and could only

be disposed of by further agreement, or by war, or by uniting the interests of both governments in the joint ownership and control of the canal.

“ Such an arrangement, while it is still desired by some, would be a fatal mistake that would soon involve the countries in war or it would enlarge and solidify the scheme of alliance that is embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty into a practical alliance, offensive and defensive, in the control of navigation and the commerce of the world. It is these later treaties that present the real ground of our present difficulty from which the convention of 1900 relieves us.

“ If we should abrogate the parts of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which forbid the exclusive control of the canal by either government, thereby removing that restriction from Great Britain, we would deliberately open the door to her natural desire to obtain the right of the exclusive control of the canal under the treaty with Nicaragua concluded in 1860.

“ Great Britain has a claim to the exclusive control of the canal that is very important to her, in that the British possessions and the Dominion of Canada have coasts and great seaports on both oceans.

“ No other nation except the United States could have so great an interest in the exclusive right to own and control an Isthmian canal, but in this matter, come what may, we are compelled to assert the superiority of our right, now for the first time conceded by Great Britain.

“ It is wise and just, therefore, that the value of this concession to us should be estimated as a great consideration for anything we may yield, if we, indeed, yield anything, in acquiring the exclusive right to control the canal by a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

“ In the convention of February 5, 1900, Great Britain agrees that the restriction as to the exclusive control of the

canal imposed by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty shall continue to bind her, while the United States is released from it.

"This leaves us free to acquire from Costa Rica and Nicaragua the exclusive control of the canal for the government or for our citizens under the protection of the United States, while it cuts off Great Britain from any such right."

The English position is analyzed *in extenso*, and the report proceeds: "There is nothing, therefore, to the prejudice of the United States in the convention of February 5, 1900."

Attention is called to the reasons why Turkey and Egypt, with Great Britain, are given exceptional powers in the Suez Canal management, and it is argued that the United States cannot take an attitude in opposition to the treaty of Constantinople, of October 29, 1888, under which these nations act without discrediting the official declarations of the United States for fifty years, made under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

A monopoly of the canal, the report says, would be unworthy of the United States. Nicaragua and Costa Rica would scarcely grant this country exclusive rights since the signing of the Constantinople treaty.

The financial obligations of the canal are spoken of, showing that the United States regards the canal more in the light of a commercial proposition than in the light of patriotic work, and the question of tolls is discussed at some length.

The report then says the United States in time may find it of great advantage to have its coastwise vessels pass through the canal safe from the attack of hostile war vessels.

"With our naval bases at Manila, Honolulu, San Francisco and San Diego on one side, and at San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Isle of Pines and Key West, with other fortified

naval stations, on the other side, it is extremely improbable that a fleet would cross either of the great oceans and approach the canal to find a gateway to the coasts of the other ocean.

“If we owned from Greytown to Brito, and if each port was protected by a fortress, it would impose upon us the necessity of permanent garrisons to hold them; otherwise the canal would fall into the hands of local military adventurers or those from neighboring States.

“With the military police by the United States provided in this convention for the protection of the canal its defense can be made against any foreign power that is not strong enough to occupy the country and hold it against all comers.

“In any event, if wars are to come that will involve the ownership or control of the canal or the right of passage through it, no battle should be ever fought in the region near it. To make the canal a battle-ground is necessarily to expose it to destruction, and the erection of fortresses for its protection will invite hostilities to its locality.

“Costa Rica and Nicaragua, with our assistance, can always protect the canal against attack by land, and our fleets are the only safe reliance to repel an attack from the sea. In either case, if the canal is to be the object of an attack, its defense must be made at a distance from its line of location, in order to save it from destruction.

“But the real danger to the canal from the absence of fortifications is so slight and improbable that its discussion appears to be unnecessary. It is scarcely conceivable that Great Britain would send a fleet across the Atlantic to attack our eastern coast, or across the Pacific to attack our western coast.

“In either case we could concentrate our fleets through the canal to meet her on either ocean. Having the short

line of concentration, through the canal, our advantages would be very great, if not supreme, when they are so greatly increased by the proximity of our ships to our naval stations on the Islands along the coasts, while our enemy would be far removed from its coal supply and other stores of munitions for naval warfare."

The report says that the canal is dedicated to peace and not to war, and continues:

"It is not what remains of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty that makes this convention necessary so much as the identical treaties of the United States and Great Britain with Nicaragua, in pursuance of the Clayton-Bulwer treaties, which were concluded in 1860 and in 1867.

"These later treaties created new conditions that stand in the way of our exclusive control of the canal and should be removed.

"In recommending the ratification of this convention your committee advises and reports an amendment, the reason for which will now be stated.

"The British Government by a dispatch dated January 3, 1883, to its representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and St. Petersburg, expressed an opinion that an agreement respecting the Suez Canal ought to be made to the following effect :

"First--That the canal should be free for the passage of all ships in any circumstances.

"Second--That in time of war a limitation of time as to ships of war of a belligerent remaining in the canal should be fixed, and no troops or munitions of war should be disembarked in the canal.

"Third--That no hostilities should take place in the canal or its approaches, or elsewhere in the territorial waters of Egypt, even in the event of Turkey being one of the belligerents.

"Fourth—That neither of the two immediately foreign conditions shall apply to measures which may be necessary for the defense of Egypt.

"This was followed by the negotiations which resulted in the convention (referred to in article 2 of the pending treaty) between Great Britain and certain other powers, signed at Constantinople October 29, 1888.

"The committee are in full accord with the purpose expressed in article 2 of the pending convention to adopt as the basis of neutralization the indicated rules substantially as embodied in the treaty of Constantinople for the navigation of the Suez Canal.

Section 1 to 7 of article 2 of the treaty now under consideration set out the rules of neutrality, prohibition of hostilities and rights of passage of the war vessels of belligerents, substantially the same with those expressed in the treaty of Constantinople.

Senator Morgan in submitting the minority report confined his objections to the Davis Amendment, and recommended the following:

First—That the United States should not provide specifically in a treaty with Great Britain for the right of the United States to defend the territory of the United States from any power whatsoever.

Second—That such provision is a virtual acknowledgment by the United States of Great Britain's right of control over the sovereignty of the United States.

Third—That the amendment annuls because it renders impossible the neutrality of the canal.

On the first proposition Senator Morgan says:

"If we had a possession that corresponded in its geography with the Red Sea on the western coast of Arabia the force of the proposed amendment would be more apparent. But we have no such possession in or near Nicaragua, and

have no need to reserve a special right to defend it, or any other possession.

“Turkey made no reservation of a right to defend Constantinople when she reserved the right to defend her coast on the Red Sea, which is an approach to the canal.

“The undersigned does not admit the proposition that, when we agree that the Nicaragua Canal shall not be fortified, ‘it is a point of invitation for hostilities or price for war-like ambition.’”

The full text of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty between the United States and Great Britain, to facilitate the construction of the Nicaragua Ship Canal, as amended by the Senate Foreign Relation Committee, is as follows :

“The United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, being desirous to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to that end to remove any objection which may arise out of the convention of April 19, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, to the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States, without impairing the ‘general principle’ of neutralization established in Article VIII. of that convention, have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

“The President of the United States, John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India; the Right Honorable Lord Pauncefote, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., Her Majesty’s Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, who, having communicated to each other their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles :

#### ARTICLE I.

“It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations, or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the propositions of the present convention, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

## ARTICLE II.

“ The high contracting parties, desiring to preserve and maintain the general principle of neutralization established in Article VIII. of the Clayton-Bulwer convention, adopt as the basis of such neutralization the following rules, substantially as embodied in the convention between Great Britain and certain other powers, signed at Constantinople, October 29, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, that is to say :

## THE NEUTRALITY CLAUSES.

“ 1. The canal shall be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise.

“ 2. The canal shall never be blockaded nor shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it.

“ 3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual nor take any stores in the canal, except so far as may be strictly necessary; and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay, in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service. Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

“ 4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war or warlike material in the canal, except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such case the transit shall be resumed with all possible dispatch.

“ 5. The provisions of this article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal, within three marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

## THE DAVIS AMENDMENT.

“ It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in sections numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this article shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces, the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order.

“ 6. The plant, establishments, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this convention, and in time of war as in time of peace shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

" 7. No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

#### ARTICLE III.

" The high contracting parties will, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, bring it to the notice of the other powers and invite them to adhere to it.

#### ARTICLE IV.

" The present convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at London within six months from the date hereof, or earlier, if possible.

" In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this convention and thereunto affixed their seals.

" Done in duplicate at Washington, the fifth day of February, in the year of Our Lord One thousand nine hundred.

" JOHN HAY,  
" PAUNCEFOTE."

The Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, capital \$100,000,000, was incorporated under a charter granted by Congress in 1889, permission having been previously obtained from the Nicaragua Canal Company for the exclusive right to construct and operate an interoceanic ship canal. Excavation was begun October 8, 1891, at San Juan del Norte, or Greytown. The total length of the proposed waterway is 169½ miles. The reservoirs of Lakes Nicaragua and Managua furnish an adequate high-water level supply. In 1892 the canal had been opened one mile from Greytown, and the sum expended on plant and work amounted to \$600,000.

#### THE PORTO RICO TARIFF QUESTION.

One of the most awkward and menacing questions—next to that involved in the Nicaragua Canal enterprise—that confronted the McKinley administration, grew out of what was at first thought and intended to be a timely

proposal to extend aid to Porto Rico. On August 8, 1899, a dreadful hurricane swept over Porto Rico, one of the most destructive, indeed, that ever visited the island, which destroyed property valued at more than \$1,000,000, and nearly two thousand lives. The people were staggering under the burdens of Spanish tax imposition that had paralyzed their few industries, and when a greater part of their remaining property was annihilated by the storm, their prostration was complete. To prevent actual starvation of the unfortunate people, the United States government contributed liberally of money and supplies, but while this help saved the inhabitants from starvation it accomplished nothing towards reviving their expiring industries. Porto Rico's history since the Spanish-American war has been a singularly sad one: In August, 1898, the islanders welcomed General Miles as bearer of the blessings of American liberty, which they eagerly embraced. In February, 1899, by ratification of the peace treaty with Spain, Porto Rico became an integral part of the United States. In September following she was deprived of her markets with Spain and Cuba, and swept by the besom of a frightful tornado that left two-thirds of her population destitute and homeless.

Porto Rico had been a large producer of tobacco and sugar, for which products she found a lucrative market in Spain; therefore, when her trade relations with the former mother country were broken, she had to look elsewhere for buyers, and naturally her producers expected to find a better market in the United States. Her condition was deplorable, through the hurricane ravages, and immediately gained the active sympathies of the administration, which at once set about devising means for providing a permanent relief and encouragement to her trade. In his message to Congress, December, 1899, President McKinley, discussing

the condition of the islanders, said: "It is our plain duty to give the products of Porto Rico free access to the United States." One month before the President made this recommendation, Secretary of War Root, in considering the question of Porto Rico's rights and relation as a recent acquisition of this government, officially declared: "The highest obligations of justice and good faith demand that Porto Rico be granted free trade." Notwithstanding these humane declarations and official utterances, a protest went up, influential as it was clarion, that to admit the products of Porto Rico free of duty would be a precedent for the like admission of all goods from the Philippines. The objection was raised by the large tobacco and sugar interests, which would be most seriously affected by free-trade intercourse, but besides these protestants there was a really serious question involved growing out of the treaty compact made with Spain, by which that country was given the right of trade intercourse with the Philippines upon the same terms enjoyed by the United States. Herein lay a very delicate constitutional question. The contention was set up that if the Constitution follows the flag, the admission of Porto Rico as a part of the national domain must consistently mean the like admission of the Philippines, in which event the whole trade of the late Spanish possessions would be thrown open to Spain, under the fourth article of the treaty, and all of Europe's export trade with the United States might be poured into this country through the Philippines, duty free.

The other side of the contention was equally strong, for the advocates of free trade with Porto Rico declared, with good reason, that the annexation of Porto Rico and of the Philippines made them as distinctively American territory as Alaska, or the territories, and supported their declaration by the example of Florida, which, when first annexed, was

immediately given all the privileges of trade enjoyed by the States. The first proposal was to lay a duty of 25 per cent. of the Dingley tariff on all imports from Porto Rico, but the opposition developed so much strength that the Senate Committee modified its report by recommending that the duty be fixed at 15 per cent. of the Dingley rate. As a further means for placating the opponent of all tax on Porto Rico products, the President proposed in a special message (March 2) that there be refunded to Porto Rico all the money collected as a tariff from the Islanders by the United States since the treaty ratification, the amount being slightly in excess of \$2,000,000. The military government of the island had been more than supported by the customs duties on goods imported into Porto Rico, and the Islanders therefore clamored not for a donation, but for laws that would enable them to revive their industries, and that would be an inducement for the investment of foreign capital in the island.

The contention was not conducted upon party lines, but was discussed as a commercial policy purely. The New York Chamber of Commerce and other large organizations of the same character, sent to the President written resolutions of protest against the imposition of any tax on Porto Rico imports, and several of the ablest Republican Senators boldly and energetically opposed the administration. Senator Cushman K. Davis, a stanch Republican, and a member of the committee which negotiated the treaty of peace with Spain, made his opposition to the administration in this matter very pronounced by offering the following amendment to the Foraker bill :

“ For the purpose of this act the following provisions of the Constitution of the United States are hereby extended and made applicable to Puerto Rico.

“ The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes,

duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

“ No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

“ No tax or duty shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.”

This very radical action caused consternation among the proponents of the original bill and led at once to a conference of leaders, who, with Senator Hanna as principal champion of the tax imposition, set at work to devise a means for overcoming the rapidly developing opposition.

While the contention was at its fiercest, the following appeal and protest, signed by many leading merchants, manufacturers and planters of Porto Rico, was laid before Congress.

“ We beg to submit to your earnest consideration the following views as to the financial policy of Puerto Rico :

“ We note with regret the principle enunciated by certain speakers in the Lower House of Congress that a tariff between Puerto Rico and the United States is the proper method of raising revenue for this island. To this we are unchangeably opposed, for the following reasons :

“ First—Because taxation on our exports means an embargo on our foreign commerce.

“ Second—Because curtailment of our commerce with the United States would lock up our products here and prevent us from gaining our legitimate proportion of profit on our productions.

“ We can never become independent financially if forced to trade solely among ourselves. We must have a market other than Puerto Rico or else we cannot gain wealth.

“ Do not mistake the proposed 15 per cent. of the Dingley rates for a reasonable rate. It is a fact that no class of goods produced here from leaf tobacco will be taxed less than 25 per cent. ad valorem, while one of the most impor-

tant of this class will be taxed 160 per cent. ad valorem under the bill adopted by the House of Representatives. If this is not an embargo on our trade, what can it be called?

“ We earnestly ask for free trade, believing that with a mutual interchange of products between the two countries the United States will be more than gainer. The United States will for many years supply our 1,000,000 people with their manufactured products.

“ In general we recognize the fact that a revenue to support the insular government would be necessary; but we are decidedly of opinion that the better method for raising that revenue will be by internal taxation, and for the following reasons:

“ First—Because by that system no restriction will be placed on our commerce with the United States.

“ Second—Because the adoption of that system will be as simple in operation here as it is in the United States.

“ In considering the amount of revenue needed for this island, we beg to submit the following calculations, which, after due consideration, we believe can be realized: Rum, 1,300,000 gallons, which at \$1.10 per gallon works out at \$1,430,000; cigarettes, 250,000,000, which at \$1.50 per thousand works out at \$375,000; cigars, 120,000,000, which at \$3.60 per thousand works out at \$432,000. Total, \$2,237,000.

“ We estimate the entire special license tax as, nominally, \$15,000. This will give us a total revenue of \$2,252,000. One-third of that equals about \$750,666. A fair estimate of the annual cost of administration is \$600,000. Add for interest and sinking fund on bonds to be issued \$150,000. Total required, \$750,000.

“ Even with free trade with the United States there would be an additional revenue of at least \$200,000 annually from customs duties on goods coming here from foreign countries.

“ If Congress will authorize Puerto Rico to issue \$2,000,000 of forty-year five per cent. bonds, the above will provide for them—viz., for interest, \$100,000, and for sinking fund, \$50,000; total, \$150,000.

“ Therefore we infer that it will be unnecessary to adopt for this island the full revenue rates of the United States. One-third of those rates will give ample receipts to cover all the above. Puerto Rico has no bonded or other debts. Therefore \$2,000,000 of bonds to be issued for internal improvements would be conservative.

“ We call your attention to the fact that it has been the custom for all countries to make internal improvements by the system of bonded indebtedness, which divides the expense among succeeding generations. We do not desire to have the burden of internal improvements placed on us solely. If it must be so, then we ask that it be done by a system of internal taxation that

will not prevent the increase of our commerce with the States of the American Union and that will not starve us.

"The fact cannot be disputed that our people are in sore distress. All commerce is now hampered. The investment of capital is stopped. Our farmers have not the means to plant or to gather their crops. Building and improving are impeded. Capital refuses to come here for investment either in manufacturing or agricultural pursuits, for the reason that the sovereignty of the United States over this island has deprived us of free trade with Spain and with Cuba, which formerly took our exports at fair prices and enabled us to live.

"We now ask as a right in equity that free trade with the United States be given us. We ask bread as a right from our mother. Do not, we pray, give us a stone. We ask for an immediate decision."

The question of constitutional rights and limitations is not involved in the obligation of doing justice to Puerto Rico. The President, in his message of last December, did not once refer to the constitutional issue, but simply, by implication, assumed that the constitutional privileges and limitations did not extend to our new possessions of their own operation, and could only be so extended by the direct action of the law-making power. Any Act of Congress that establishes unrestricted commercial intercourse between Puerto Rico and the States of the Union necessarily carries the same implication, and Senator Davis in his substitute for the House Tariff Reduction Bill expressly and explicitly, in set technical terms, extends the operation of the revenue provisions of the Constitution to the island, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, perverse or otherwise, of the full import of the legislation which he proposes.

The constitutional question is in no way involved in the matter. It is simply a question of justice to the impoverished people of the island and their prostrate industries. As the President tersely put it in his message:—

"Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Puerto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets."

This recommendation is not based on a constitutional right of the Puertoquenos, but on the ground that, by the act of annexation, we have destroyed the old markets of these people and are bound in duty to provide them with new ones on terms equally favorable with those they enjoyed under Spanish rule. On this point there was the widest divergence possible between the President and the framers of the original Tariff Reduction Bill, and there is still the same divergence between him and the supporters of the amended bill that finally passed the House under the mandate of the machine. There is no misunderstanding whatever on this point on the part of the intelligent, liberal, and patriotic Republican sentiment, in and out of Congress, which has been arrayed against the 25 per cent. tariff bill, and is still arrayed against its successor, the 15 per cent. measure.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming public sentiment in opposition to a tax on Puerto Rico products, on March 16 the Senate passed the Puerto Rico Relief Appropriation Bill and refused to extend to the islanders constitutional rights. The bill as passed reads as follows:

“ Be it enacted, etc., that the sum of \$2,095,455, being the amount of customs revenue received on importations by the United States from Puerto Rico since the evacuation of Puerto Rico by the Spanish forces on the 18th of October, 1898, to the 1st of January, 1900, shall be placed at the disposal of the President, to be used for the government now existing and which may hereafter be established in Puerto Rico, and for public education, public works and other governmental and public purposes therein, and the said sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated for the purposes herein specified out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.”

## CHAPTER LV.

## THE PACIFIC CABLE.

THE territorial expansion of our country, through annexation of Hawaii, Tutuila, Guam, and the Philippines, as well also the open-door policy that has so greatly increased our trade relations with China, has made the laying of a Pacific cable an inexorable necessity. This extreme need is in a fair way of being supplied in a reasonably short while. Two bills providing for construction of cables across the Pacific, with a station at Honolulu, were introduced directly after the holiday recess of Congress (1900). The House Committee on Foreign Commerce reported favorably on the measure, authorizing a private corporation to undertake the work and pledging the government to the payment of a substantial subsidy for a term of years. The Senate Naval Committee, reporting a similar bill, made the recommendation that a direct line of cable communication between this country and the far East be constructed and controlled absolutely by the United States government. The recommendation of the House Committee was that the cable be laid and controlled by a private corporation, and that as a guarantee, or subvention, the government pay to such corporation the sum of \$250,000 annually, for a period of twenty years, for such service as the government may require. The contention of opponents of the scheme of private ownership was :

Aid to private concerns by fat bounties from the public

purse has never been popular with the American people. The abuses which are liable to arise from this system are numerous and obvious. If the government furnishes the assistance asked for in the laying and operation of the cable, the line will remain private property, and when the period covered by the subsidy agreement expires it will have to stand on the same footing as other customers of the cable company.

If, however, the cable is constructed outright as a national undertaking which forms a part of the general defense scheme of the United States, like the building of forts and warships, the title to the property remains in the government's possession, and it will possess the right to send messages to Manila at all times without cost. The need of a cable to the Philippines is evident if the Stars and Stripes are to continue to float over the islands, but it will be many years before the commercial tolls received for messages can be expected to defray the cost of construction and operation. If a Pacific cable used primarily for business purposes would pay from a commercial standpoint, there would be no ground on which to ask for the help of lavish subsidies. Since it is admitted that the present necessity for such a line is chiefly strategic and defensive, it is better for the government to build it, own it, and operate it.

#### THE SHIP SUBSIDY BILL.

It was an excellent work that the 56th Congress set about, in planning legislation that would rehabilitate our merchant navy, and multiply our flag on the high sea. More than fifty years ago, when the population of the United States was hardly 40,000,000, a greater number of vessels crossed the ocean under American colors than now. Our coastwise trade has grown enormously, but our export business, great

as it is, is done chiefly in foreign bottoms. The cause for this, the closing of shipyards in Maine and Massachusetts, and transference of the business of ship-building to the Clyde, is a story often told, and cannot be discussed without entering upon a dissertation on the national policy of free trade. Whatever be the argument of justification, certain it is that we are outstripped in the transatlantic carrying trade by England, Germany, and France. To remedy this situation, which so humbles our national pride, what is known as the Hanna-Payne ship subsidy bill was introduced in the U. S. Senate in February, 1900. Of the merits of this bill it is not the province of the chronicler of events to venture an opinion, except so far as it be reflected in the opinions expressed by others.

The bill, designed to promote the commerce of the United States, was favorably reported by the Senate committee March 3, 1900, and appeal made for its support. The bill calls for an appropriation of \$9,000,000 annually, for a period of ten years, the amount to be duly apportioned among ship-owners, as a classified subsidy, engaged in foreign trade of the United States. By its provisions a subsidy is to be paid on all American ships, fulfilling the requirements of speed, contracted for prior to January 1, 1900, regardless of where such vessels are built. By this wording of the measure the present maritime laws confining the American flag to merchant marine bottoms built in American ship-yards are virtually abrogated. Previous to January 1, contracts for the building of American ships in English yards were made by the American Line, the Ward Line, and the Great Northern Trans-Pacific Line, in all 318,000 tons, which is the total amount of tonnage that can be affected by the subsidy bill as it was reported.

The object of a subsidy manifestly is to assist the American ship-owner in his competition with British low wages and

cheap merchant marine system. A subsidy is not needed where the lines are already run at a profit, as is clearly indicated by companies placing orders for more ships.

It is contended that at least a million tons of American bottoms are necessary to really establish such a thing as the American merchant marine, and that more than this amount would be gladly contracted for in foreign shipyards if the same subsidy inducements were held out to the ship purchaser after January 1, that they are before that date.

The bill, too, provides a subsidy only for ships "engaged in the foreign trade of United States, which shall be entered in the United States from a foreign port."

Arrangements have almost been completed for several lines around Cape Horn to Hawaii. But the Sandwich Islands are now United States property, and consequently would not receive any benefits from the bill. It is worth noticing, however, that none of the three lines which have already contracted for ships run to Hawaii.

According to the original bill a subsidy of one cent per gross ton of capacity for each one hundred miles of the voyage was allowed to a 1500-ton vessel of fourteen knots' speed, and a ship of that tonnage was in addition made eligible to receive a further compensation for the carrying of mail.

So much objection was made to the original provisions of the bill, by parties too who were to be most benefited, that it was re-committed, and when again it was reported some remarkable changes had been made. The original speed specification of fourteen knots, for mail steamers, was reduced to twelve knots, which change would enable the owners of slow-going freight steamers to share in the subvention. The speed limit of fourteen knots for 1500-ton vessels carrying freight was removed and no speed limit fixed.

Originally, also, ownership by American citizens necessary to obtain the subsidy was required to be not less than 80 per cent.; this clause was amended reducing the requirement to 51 per cent., a bare majority. The question of a vessel's speed is to be determined by a board of naval officers on a test of four hours' continuous steaming in ordinary weather. These conditions will enable an ordinary ten-knot ship to gain the subsidy, for special preparation, especially by the use of selected fuel, will enable a ship to be driven at a two-knot-an-hour greater speed than she can make under usual conditions.

It is hardly surprising, under the circumstances, that a strong opposition should develop against the bill by a majority of the shipping concerns of the country, and that a league was formed to defeat it.

#### THE CURRENCY BILL.

It has for many years been a dream of politicians and a desire of bankers to see a reform in our currency that would prevent the endless chain by which withdrawal of all the gold in the treasury is possible, and to effect a means for providing an elasticity that would meet the needs of business according to its increase or depression. The Democratic party holds to the contention that free and unlimited coinage of silver at a fixed relation to gold of 16 to 1 will fulfill all requirements; the old Greenback party maintained that elasticity and commercial needs could not be provided for, except by the issue of unredeemable paper currency, according to the demands of trade. The Republican party, in latter years, has inclined to the gold standard, limiting silver coinage to subsidiary issue, and issuing paper currency in no greater amount than the redemption fund of gold justified. After much struggling, and disputation

that has not been wholly partisan, a bill was at length evolved by the 56th Congress, which, after a long and acrimonious discussion, finally passed by a very large majority March 13, 1900, and received the President's signature on the following day.

The bill originated in the House, and had for its ostensible purpose the refunding of the national debt in very low interest-bearing bonds, and for committing the government to the gold standard. When the Republican conferees submitted their report, a makeshift declaration of the Senate for international bimetallism was recommended, which, though protested against by the House conferences, was nevertheless accepted with a slight change of verbiage. Subsequently, on March 6, 1900, the conference committee's report on the measure was confirmed by a party vote and the bill reported back to the House. The gist of the bill, as finally passed, provides substantially as follows :

The dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold nine-tenths fine shall be the standard unit of value.

United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of 1890, when presented to the Treasury for redemption, shall be redeemed in gold.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to set apart a fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion for redemption purposes only, and to maintain the reserve. If it falls below \$100,000,000 the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to sell or issue 3 per cent. bonds to replenish it.

United States notes when redeemed shall not be reissued, but shall be held in the reserve fund until exchanged for gold.

Nothing in the act shall be construed to affect the legal tender quality, as now provided by law, of the silver dollar, or of any other money coined or issued by the United States.

Hereafter silver certificates shall be issued only of denominations of \$10 and under.

The amount of subsidiary silver coin outstanding shall not at any time exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000.

National banks with a capital of not less than \$25,000 may, with the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury, be organized in towns not exceeding 5,000 inhabitants.

Here is the debt-refunding section :

“Section 11. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to receive at the Treasury any of the outstanding bonds of the United States bearing interest at 5 per centum per annum, payable February 1, 1904, and any bonds of the United States bearing interest at 4 per centum per annum, payable July 1, 1907, and any bonds of the United States bearing interest at 3 per centum per annum, payable August 1, 1908, and to issue in exchange therefor an equal amount of coupon or registered bonds of the United States, in such form as he may prescribe, in denominations of fifty dollars or any multiple thereof, bearing interest at the rate of 2 per centum per annum, payable quarterly, such bonds to be payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from the date of their issue, and said bonds to be payable, principal and interest, in gold coin.

“Provided, that such outstanding bonds may be received in exchange at a valuation not greater than their present worth to yield an income of 2 per centum per annum: and in consideration of the reduction of interest effected the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay to the holders of the outstanding bonds surrendered for exchange, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not greater than the difference between their present worth, computed as aforesaid, and their par value.

"Provided, further, that the 2 per centum bonds to be issued under the provisions of this act shall be issued at not less than par."

National banks shall be entitled to receive circulating notes equal in amount to the par value of the bonds deposited.

Every national bank having on deposit bonds of the United States bearing 2 per cent. interest per annum, issued under the provisions of this act, shall pay a tax of one-fourth of 1 per cent. each half year upon the average amount of such of its notes in circulation as are based upon the deposit of said 2 per cent. bonds.

Here is the section on bimetallism:

"Sec. 14. That the provisions of this act are not intended to preclude the accomplishment of international bimetallism whenever conditions shall make it expedient and practicable to secure the same by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world and at a ratio which shall insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver."

As are all bills of great public interest this one is largely a compromise, for it was vigorously opposed by Chandler and the silver Republicans of the West, and its passage does not give general satisfaction. The chief objection was laid against it as giving too much power to the national banks, to increase or diminish at will the currency in circulation, and practically perpetuating the national debt. This latter contention, however, is met by the argument that the option of paying off the public debt is not seriously affected by the measure, as, at the low rate of interest the new bonds will bear, the government can go into the market at any time and buy them at par, or at a very slight advance.

## INVENTIONS.

The closing year of the old century was marked by many events of a surprising nature—political, ethical, commercial, and social. The most important, of course, was the Hay-Pauncefote Nicaragua Canal Treaty, that precipitated an earnest debate, as the subject demanded, and disrupted party ties. Next in public interest was the Porto Rico Tariff question, which again broke over party lines, and precipitated acrimonious argument in Congress and among the people. Great interest was also taken by Americans in the Boer-English war, a large majority sympathizing with the Transvaal Republics, and a strong pressure was brought to bear upon Congress to pass a vote of sympathy for the Boers, which, however, was defeated.

The trust problem continued to agitate the people, foreshadowing the very important part this question was destined to play in the Presidential elections of 1900. On February 14 an anti-trust convention was held in Chicago, where nearly two hundred delegates assembled to devise means for extinguishing or curtailing the power of aggregated capital. The result of this convention was the passage of resolutions recommending the acquisition by the government of all railroad, telegraph and telephone lines, and the operating of same by the government. The organization of trusts was also condemned and indefinite legislation recommended to cure the abuse.

Of the questions partaking both of the social and political, that of the Roberts' case is conspicuous. Brigham H. Roberts, of Utah, a confessed Mormon and polygamist, was elected on the Democratic ticket to a seat in Congress in the fall of 1899 by a majority of 4,000 votes. Protests against his admission as a member were voiced, at first somewhat feebly, but public opinion was rapidly formed

through the active campaign inaugurated by the *New York Journal*, and when Congress met in December a protest of one hundred thousand names was sent to Washington by a special train. The constitutional right to reject a lawfully elected representative was raised, but public sentiment was so overwhelming against admission of an avowed polygamist that no one in Congress had courage to press the constitutional question. The right of Congress to determine the qualifications of its members was made the fortress against which Roberts was forced to direct his assault for admission. The argument, which he conducted in his own behalf, was carried over until the early part of February, when, upon a vote being finally taken, Roberts was excluded by an almost unanimous vote.

Notwithstanding that 1899 was a period of unexampled prosperity in the United States, it was not free from labor strikes. One of the most serious took place in the fall of that year among the coal miners of Illinois, which culminated in a riot at Carbondale and the killing of seven imported negro miners. The same year a great strike was begun by miners in the Cœur d'Alene region of Idaho, which continued with bitterness and much violence for nearly one year, during which time much property was destroyed and several lives lost. So serious became the trouble that the State authorities confessed their inability to control the turbulent element and appeal to the President was made to declare martial law in the State. An investigation of the cause of the strike, and an inquiry as to the treatment of persons arrested charged with interfering with the Bunker Hill and Sullivan properties, was made before the House Committee on Military Affairs at Washington in March, 1900, at which some alarming statements were brought out. The claim was set up that there was no just reason for declaring martial law in the State, and that under it the grossest abuses of authority had been practiced. It was

represented at the inquiry that the Standard Oil Company owns 82 per cent. of all the mining property in the Cœur d'Alene region, and that this corporation dominates all the political and commercial interests of the State ; that persons had been arrested for no other crime than opposition to the company's high-handed measures, and thrown into what was called "The Bull Pen" at Wardner. Here many indignities were practiced and much suffering was caused the prisoners, most of them being compelled to labor under guard of negro soldiers.

The inquiry naturally took a political turn, because of the approach of the Presidential election. The representation was made, and supported by witnesses, that General Merriam, who had been detailed to suppress the rioting, and incidentally to subdue the strike, had made a recommendation to President McKinley, June 1, 1899, in the following language : "Since the trouble in Idaho originated in hostile organizations known as labor unions, I would suggest a law to be enacted by Congress making such unions, or kindred societies, *a crime* ; surely, history furnishes an argument sufficiently in favor of such a course." This recommendation probably received no attention from the President, but the fact that it was not repudiated was seized upon by political enemies for arraigning the President upon a charge of being unfriendly to, if not an open opponent of, all labor organizations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the investigation, conducted as it was before a congressional committee, developed great bitterness, and took on the appearance of political recrimination, duly capitalized for campaign purposes, through which the real merits of the case were largely neglected.

Another strike of some magnitude was inaugurated in Chicago in the beginning of 1900 by the Builders' Trade Union, the demand being for increased pay and reduction

of the hours of labor. The trouble for some time was confined to peaceful persuasion, but, this proving to be without avail, violence was resorted to and several non-union employes were badly beaten. On March 9 the strike assumed a more dangerous phase by a riot in which one man was shot and a score of others were so badly injured by clubs and stones as to require hospital treatment. The contractors' council appealed to the mayor for assistance, representing that the life of every man who seeks to work in the building trade was endangered by a lawless element. Serious charges were also made by non-union men against the police sent to protect them and the most ominous disquiet prevailed for several months.

About the same time a sensation was sprung over discovery that England was strongly fortifying Esquimault harbor, British Columbia, with a view, as not a few prominent persons declared, to preparing herself for enforcing a demand, hereafter to be made, to fix a boundary line that will give her a harbor entrance to Alaska. Public alarm was more quickly taken because of the failure of the Joint High Commission in 1899 to negotiate a settlement of the boundary dispute between Canada and the United States. That controversy had been carried no further than the adoption of a *modus vivendi*, which temporary settlement was the abeyance of a question which sooner or later must be revived, and timid persons were therefore easily made to believe that the fortification of Esquimault was a sign of England's intention to support Canada in her Alaska claims. The matter was carried so far that on March 14 Mr. Sulzer, of New York, offered a resolution in committee on Military Affairs in the House, demanding information regarding Great Britain's fortifications along the Northern frontier, and especially her plans to control Puget Sound. The resolution was amended by striking out the words "Great

Britain," but it was by the narrow margin of one vote, so that the Democrats of the House called for a report on the resolution, by which action the question was brought before Congress and gave opportunity for the friends and enemies of England to express their views, which they did not neglect to do, though the matter was suffered to go no further.

It is pleasing to turn from the disturbing conditions that exist in all countries, regardless of laws or conditions, to a consideration of the pleasing discoveries and improvements that promote civilization. On December 4, 1895, Prof. Roentgen astonished the world by a description of his discovery of what he termed the X (unknown) rays, particulars of which he gave in a paper read before the Physico-Medical Society of Würzburg, Germany. The discovery was heralded over the whole civilized globe by an announcement that a new photography had been developed, which by means of unknown rays from Crook tubes penetrated substances heretofore considered to be impervious to light, so that objects like bones of the living hand or body became visible to the naked eye and capable of being photographed. This most remarkable discovery was promptly utilized by the surgical profession and has proven a benefit beyond computation, rendering prompt relief possible in cases that would otherwise be hopeless. It has been found also that the X-rays exert a destructive effect upon certain germ life and by their use that greatest of human scourges, cancer, may, in some cases at least, be destroyed. This latter discovery belongs to the beginning of 1900.

Another remarkable discovery, or development of a long previously well-known principle, is the cineometographic, also called biograph, moving pictures, etc. The thaumatope was the instrument that suggested to Edison the kinetoscope, and from this latter developed the cineometgraphic, of

Lemiere, France, by which active life is pictured. This is accomplished by an instrument that takes a large number of instantaneous pictures of any moving object. When these are developed and shown upon a screen from a rapidly revolving cylinder, on which the pictures have been wound, there appears a continuous view of the object photographed, which may be a running horse, a train of cars in motion, and even a battle scene has by this means been transferred to canvas with all the realism of movement of the actual scene.

Probably exceeding in importance the invention of Lemiere was Charles Tripler's discovery (1897) of a means of liquefying atmospheric air. Mr. Tripler experimented many years with gases and electricity, and his discoveries in these branches of physics led him to the belief that by extreme pressure air might be reduced to a liquid. After many efforts he devised a machine for his purpose and achieved his ambition. The product he found to be a liquid extremely volatile and of a temperature 300 degrees below zero ; continuing his experiments with the previously unknown product he found that any metal dipped into the liquid was immediately made as friable as glass, and that under conditions it was also highly explosive, and yet easily controlled. Yet further experiments demonstrated its commercial utility as a substitute for steam, developing many times the power, and its usefulness as a refrigerant as well also for other practical purposes.

More beneficent, in so far as the effects on social progress are concerned, was the invention of the automobile, notwithstanding it is still in the first stages of infancy. The credit cannot be given to any one man for devising a machine for running with its own power, for the automobile, properly speaking, is not an invention, but an evolution. Vehicles were built to run by steam on smooth highways a full century

ago, and the effort has been desultory since to perfect such a machine, just as it has been to devise a successful contrivance for flying. The first automobile that gave promise of satisfactory achievement was built in France about 1896, since which time improvement has been great, and it is to the closing year of the century that the credit must be given for the production of a road machine that seems to fulfill all practical conditions, and by American mechanics the best results have been obtained. Road vehicles, operated by stored electricity, by gasoline, and by steam, have now become common sights in all American cities, and they are growing rapidly in number for all purposes as substitutes for horse-drawn wagons. Early in 1900 an omnibus line of automobiles was established on Fifth Avenue, New York, which was the first time they were put to such use in America, though a year before public cab service by automobiles was inaugurated in New York and Philadelphia. The success that has attended their introduction, and the improvements constantly being made, leads to the irresistible conclusion that not a great many years will elapse before the street car will be completely displaced by the automobile wagon. The time is not distant when the horse will be as rare an object on the street as the ox is now, when all streets will be laid with asphalt, when the dangerous and disfiguring iron rails that cumber our thoroughfares, and the even more dangerous and unsightly overhead trolley-wires will disappear, because they are no longer useful, and when city life will be rendered more healthful, comfortable and delightful by the substitution of automobiles for all vehicle purposes, both public and private. The farmer, too, will be no less benefited by their general use, and the happy prospect is particularly pleasing, this opening of a new century of tremendous social, agricultural and industrial progress achieved through

the employment of self-propeling machines that are next in importance to the locomotive.

#### THE GREAT GOLD DISCOVERIES.

When, through the influence of Seward, Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia (1867) for the sum of \$7,200,000, a mighty voice of protest cried out against the act as inexcusable squandering of the public money. But Seward's prophetic eye enabled him to see the golden returns soon to be realized from that transaction. The seal fisheries of Alaska were worth many times the price paid for the territory, but it was left for future discovery to reveal a far greater source of wealth.

Small pieces of gold were found in Alaska by members of the Hudson Bay Company as early as 1840, but it was not then believed to exist there in paying quantities. In 1871, however, some excitement was created by discoveries of gold made near Sitka, which presently subsided, and nothing further developed until 1880, when a large deposit of low-grade gold-bearing ore was discovered at a place now called Juneau, where the largest stamp-mill in the world was erected, and great fortunes rewarded the discoverer. In 1881 a search of the Upper Yukon basin was made for gold, but with little success. Two years later considerable gold was found on the Big Salmon and tributaries of Lewis River, and in 1886 a rich strike was made of precious ore on Forty Mile Creek and branches of the Yukon. In 1893 still more valuable discoveries were made on Birch Creek, which caused such a rush of miners that Circle City was built on the spot. The town grew rapidly until 1896, when a large gold nugget was found on the bank of the Klondike River, at its junction with the Yukon. This discovery was quickly followed by others, and the news very soon brought thousands of miners to the new land of gold. Daw-

son City sprang into existence almost in a day, and notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulties of reaching the place, especially in winter, a countless army of gold-seekers formed an endless procession from Dyea to Dawson, a distance of 575 miles. The passage of Chilcot Pass was the greatest obstacle that the traveler had to encounter on the way to Dawson, and a great many perished in the attempt, but a tramway was built in 1897, by which freight and passengers were transported over the pass, and in 1899 a railroad was opened that has taken away all the former perils and hardships of the journey.

The gold discoveries in Alaska were more important than those of California, and the progressive spirit of the age utilized them more fully and promptly. Scarcely were the reports of gold in paying quantities verified than steamship lines were established, running from San Francisco and Vancouver to St. Michaels, near the mouth of the Yukon, and steamboat lines were as soon organized to carry passengers from St. Michaels to Dawson City. The output of gold in Alaska justified all these expenditures, for the annual production was nearly \$10,000,000 in 1897, and rose to \$20,000,000 in 1899.

Great as was the excitement following the gold discoveries in the Klondike region, it was not comparable with that which attended the wondrous gold-find on Cape Nome in October, 1898. Cape Nome is a point of land that faces Siberia, one hundred miles south of the narrowest place in Behring's Strait, where the passage is less than forty miles wide. There was a small settlement of Laps and Swedes at a point some twenty miles from where Nome City, at the mouth of Snake River, now stands, who made their living by fishing, and were too ignorant or thoughtless to consider the incredible wealth that lay at their feet. By chance a prospector named Dwyer wandered into that deso-

late district and learned from two others, named Linden-berg and Lindbloom, that nuggets of gold had been found on the sea-beach. This report spread so fast that in the spring of 1899 the rush began and discovery upon discovery was made. Nearly all of Dawson City and other mushroom towns of Alaska found sudden incentive to shift locations, and crowds are still pouring from every part of the earth to the new Eldorado. The first finds were really on the banks of adjacent creeks, for no one thought gold would be found in paying quantity on the sea-beach, but by June (1899) it was determined that the richest deposits, in dust and nuggets, were on the sea-shore near where Snake River debouches. Stories were told of nuggets being found worth \$500, and of men who mined with their hands as much as \$1,000 per day. \$2,000,000 worth of gold was taken out near Cape Nome in the three summer months of 1899, and the estimate is made by the Director of the United States Mint that the production of the district in 1900 will be \$20,000,000, which, if realized, the entire gold output of United States territory for the year will be approximately \$70,000,000. But it is maintained that the entire Alaska coast for 110 miles, extending as far north as Cape Prince of Wales, and inland a distance of forty miles, is a vast placer digging, from which it is predicted such a supply of gold will be obtained that the effects on trade will be profound and incalculable.

#### EXPOSITIONS.

Beginning of the year 1900 was signaled by the greatest exposition scheme that Paris ever conceived, intending if possible to far outstrip her effort of 1889 and to surpass the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. With this end in view a guarantee fund of \$20,000,000 was obtained, to which sum must be added the liberal contributions made by other

countries that desired to exhibit displays. The United States appropriated for the purpose \$1,210,000, and had 200,000 square feet allotted for exhibits from this country. Besides a splendid display of its manufactures the United States is represented by a magnificent building costing \$200,000, that is unsurpassed by the State building of any other country.

In the summer of 1901 there is to be held in Buffalo, New York, the Pan-American Exposition, designed to show, in competition, the industries of the countries of North and South America. The exposition was capitalized in the sum of \$5,000,000, which was increased by a State appropriation of \$300,000, and a government loan of \$500,000.

In the same year (1901) Detroit will celebrate the bicentenary of the settlement of that city by an international exposition, and in the following year (1902), there will be held, at Toledo, the Ohio Centennial and Northwest Territory Exposition, for which the government has appropriated \$500,000, and several States have passed bills appropriating sums in aid of the project.

In 1903 there will be held in St. Louis an international exposition to celebrate the centenary of the Louisiana purchase, the greatest event in the life of the nation since the Declaration of Independence. It is proposed to raise by personal subscription the sum of \$5,000,000, to which a like amount is expected to be appropriated by the State, and a further sum of \$5,000,000 is to be asked as a loan from the government. Great interest is being taken in the enterprise, especially by States of the Mississippi valley, and the ambitious prophecy of the promoters is that it will be the greatest exposition ever held in any country.

On July 4, 1900, there was unveiled and dedicated in Paris a heroic bronze statue of the Marquis de Lafayette which, equally with the Liberty statue in New York harbor, serves

as a memorial of the friendship that binds France and the United States. On March 30, 1899, Congress appropriated \$50,000 specially coined silver dollars in behalf of the monument, which was supplemented to \$100,000 that had been contributed for the purpose by the school children of America. The statue is equestrian, the largest in existence, and stands upon a plot of ground given by the French government, and called Lafayette Square, in the beautiful Tuileries Garden, near Gambetta's monument.

END OF VOLUME II.







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